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## THE BUILDING UP OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION OF INCUNABULA

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THE British Museum collection of some 11,500 books printed in the fifteenth century is far from being the largest in existence, though it is one of the largest. Munich is credited in *Minerva* with having 16,000, and at Paris the combined resources of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and the Ste Geneviève and Mazarin collection must considerably exceed even that large total. But the proportion of duplicates both at Paris and at Munich is very large, and the possession by the British Museum of at least 9,850 different editions puts it very well in the front rank. I will own, however, to a frustrated ambition to be able to say, before I left, that the Museum had ten thousand different editions or issues. It would have been quite easy to fulfil this ambition by picking up Strasburg, Cologne, or Venice books of the last decade of the fifteenth century at small prices; but with the ideal of ten thousand different editions as a pleasant round number at which to close the collection (which has now been receiving special attention for fully thirty years), there has grown up a more discriminating desire to select these final acquisitions so as to fill real gaps. Now if every new purchase (unless it possesses an independent literary

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 20 October 1924.

interest) has to be printed in a *type* not hitherto represented, or preferably by a *printer* not hitherto represented, or best of all at a *town* not hitherto represented, the growth of the collection becomes slow and also expensive. Also there is wastage. Proctor's standard was much more rigorous than Hain's, but he gave a modest number of books the benefit of the doubt and left them in his *Index* for further examination; the present standard is very rigorous and quite a number of books which a bookseller would catalogue—hopefully—as *c.* 1495, have been turned out of the collection as almost certainly printed just on the wrong side of 1500. I know that there are a few more at the end of Florence which Mr. Scholderer will hardly be likely to include in the Museum Catalogue of fifteenth-century books, and others will probably have to disappear from Paris. All this checks the rate of net additions, especially when there are so many other claims on the resources of the Trustees, even for book purchases alone. But it may be gathered from this little lament that an incunable which is registered as such in the Museum Catalogue can be relied on with some confidence to have been really printed in the fifteenth century, or at least before Lady Day or Easter 1501, when (according to rival systems of reckoning) the fifteenth century came to an end; also that the Museum collection is not merely an aggregate of fortuitous examples, but to a very unusual extent typographically representative. It seems worth while therefore to try to tell the story of the gradual building up of the collection from varied sources, and in pursuance of varying ideals, and I propose to make a first attempt in the present paper, and ask for leniency if the story is occasionally found a little vague, and necessarily incomplete.

To begin with, one striking feature may be emphasized: the incunabula in the British Museum have come to it entirely by free gift or purchase. The large proportion of duplicates

in some of the great foreign libraries is accounted for by the contents of numerous monastic libraries having been swept into them at the time that the monasteries were suppressed. In England monasteries were suppressed much too early for specimens of fifteenth-century presses to be regarded as of antiquarian interest. Such examples of early printing as had reached English monastic libraries would probably have been selected from those books 'without which no monastic library could be considered complete', which were printed in large numbers in the fifteenth century, more especially in Germany. Representing, as they did, the scholastic literature of the three previous centuries, these were already dead when they were printed, and the disciples of the newer learning were very anxious to see them buried. We may regret that these books were destroyed, along with many service books, printed and manuscript, of much greater artistic interest, and with some vernacular works the loss of which is really deplorable. But it was only in countries in which the monasteries enjoyed a longer life than in England that shelf room could be found during another two centuries and a half for books which no one wanted to read. If the printed books from the monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII had been preserved at the time, it is doubtful if they would have survived the impatience of the next two centuries. In any case we must recognize it as a fact that the Museum collection has not been enriched in this way; and its building up has thus been the more laborious.

There being no floods of confiscations to disturb us, our natural course will be to consider first what incunabula were to be found in the original collections with which the Museum started; next to review the gifts and bequests which laid the foundations on which the present collection has been built up; to pass from these gifts and bequests to the purchases, and finally to take the output of some notable printers and show how the two streams of acquisitions have united to

produce a more or less adequate representation of the output of the presses of different countries.

As every one knows, the occasion which moved Parliament to authorize the establishment of the British Museum (by means of a rather conspicuously mismanaged lottery) was the offer of the collections of Sir Hans Sloane and the Harley manuscripts at prices obviously below their value. With these were to be joined the Cotton manuscripts presented to the nation in 1700, which had been so carelessly housed that in 1731 many of them had been destroyed and others injured by a fire at Ashburnham House, where they were kept. After that fire a Major Arthur Edwards had conveyed to the Cotton trustees a reversionary interest in the sum of £7,000, to 'erect and build such a house as may be most likely to preserve that library as much as can be from all accidents'. The reversion did not become available till other arrangements for housing the library had been made; it was therefore appropriated to the purchase of 'such manuscripts, books of antiquities, ancient coins and other curiosities as might be worthy to increase and enlarge the said Cotton library'. This deed of trust appears to have been rather liberally interpreted as regards the purchase of printed books, and for many years the interest on the £7,000 was almost the only purchase fund at the disposal of the Trustees of the Museum; we shall thus have to mention it again. Meanwhile Major Edwards's own library of 2,000 books had passed to the Cotton trustees on his death in 1743. Before the Museum was transferred to Montague House it had also received from George II the magnificent gift of the Old Royal Library, and a Jewish merchant, Solomon da Costa, had been moved by the king's generosity to hand over a collection of a hundred and eighty Hebrew manuscripts and printed books which he had bought some forty years earlier. These, or most of them, were bound in the beautiful crimson Turkey leather with the cipher of



Charles II in the corners, found on nearly all the books acquired for the Royal Library during Charles's reign. I fear that, as in the case of the Thomason tracts, the explanation of these Hebrew books being on the market is that Charles, instead of paying for them himself, had ordered his bookseller, Samuel Mearns, to pay for them, and in default of repayment, though they were bound for the Royal Library, they never reached it, till by the generosity of Mr. Da Costa they were at last housed under the same roof.

It is impossible to begin our little survey without a word of regret that before the bargain as to the Harley manuscripts was made, Harley's printed books had already been sold to Osborne the bookseller for the miserable sum of £13,000, less than they had cost to bind. Had that noble collection been acquired with the Harley manuscripts, the library of printed books would have started on a really splendid scale. As it was, for the first sixty or seventy years of its existence it was a very poor supplement to the Manuscripts. It occupied, however, altogether ten rooms in Montague House, of which six were devoted to the 40,000 printed books in the Sloane collection, three to the Old Royal Library, and one to the books bequeathed by Major Edwards. The first question I have to answer is 'How many books printed in the fifteenth century were there in these collections?' and in much fear and trembling I hazard the answer: 'Not more than four hundred, and the great bulk of these in the Old Royal Library.'

The reason for my trepidation in hazarding a numerical answer is that while from 1836 onwards the Departmental sources of information as to the provenance of the printed books in the British Museum are very good, before that date there is only a manuscript catalogue of the Old Royal Library, and the printed catalogues of 1787 and 1813. I believe that there may be some earlier records in the Director's Office, and some day, if I can find leisure to pursue this subject, I may

ask leave to consult them. But in the absence of any special catalogues of the Sloane books and those bequeathed by Major Edwards, it is hazardous to make any estimate of what incunabula they contained. Major Edwards was primarily an archaeologist, not a book collector, and he may well have had no fifteenth-century books. Sir Hans Sloane certainly possessed some, notably Caxton's edition of the *Knyght of the toure* and possibly also of *Tulle on old age*; here and there, moreover, in the five volumes of the Museum Catalogue of fifteenth-century works you will find at the end of an entry: 'Sir Hans Sloane's copy.' But these notes of his ownership are not numerous, and on comparing the Museum Catalogue of Printed Books of 1787 with the manuscript catalogue of the Old Royal Library, I did not find the additional entries dated before 1501 very many. Some of these, moreover, were purchases. It is true that in the year that the Museum was opened the poet Gray had written to a friend that its annual income was £900 and expenditure £1,300, so that he expected soon to hear that the collections were being sold to make up the difference. This foreboding was not realized, but the Government only just kept the Museum out of bankruptcy, and for years almost the only fund from which purchases could be made was the interest of the £7,000 bequeathed by Major Edwards, as already mentioned. Now in February 1775 there was sold the classical library of Dr. Anthony Askew, and it is quite clear that at this sale the Trustees of the British Museum, probably with the help of the Edwards fund, made considerable purchases. Some of these are still in the Museum, e.g. Jenson's Cicero *Epistolae ad Familiares* of 1471 and the *Macrobius* of 1472 from the same press. Askew's copy of Jenson's *Pliny* of 1472 is also in the Museum, having returned to it with the Grenville Library after having been sold as a duplicate in 1804. Probably other purchases at the Askew sale were sold as duplicates in 1804, since by

that time the Cracherode library had been received, and this also was rich in early editions of the Classics. But when the Museum Catalogue was printed in 1787 all the purchases at the Askew sale would have been included, and I think that these account for many of the incunables not in the old Royal Library.

The fifteenth-century books in the Royal Library itself fall into two classes. The larger, but less interesting, of these came to it through Prince Henry (son of James I), who had bought the libraries of Lords Lumley and Arundel which included a great many books from the library of Archbishop Cranmer. The incunables in this are mainly theological and scholastic books, with a few Classics. The earlier purchases of the Royal Library, more especially those bought as current literature by Henry VII, are much more attractive. These remain to this day one of the outstanding features of the Museum collection of incunabula. Readers of John Macfarlane's admirable monograph for our society on *Antoine Vérard* will remember Vérard's 'special line' of cheaply illuminated books on vellum manufactured for a few royal and ducal patrons. Henry VII seems to have purchased one or two paper copies from Vérard in 1492 and then, though usually reputed a parsimonious monarch, to have been caught by the lure of printed books got up to look like respectable illuminated manuscripts, and offered, doubtless, at a much lower price. In 1493 Vérard planted no fewer than six on him: *Boccaccio de la louenge des nobles et cleres dames*, the *Traite des deux amans*, *Art et science de réthorique*, *Arbre des batailles*, *Chroniques de France*, and *Bible des poètes*. This last strayed to Osterley Park; the other five are at the Museum. Henry may have found the bills inconveniently heavy, as of three purchases in 1494 two were on paper and only a *Boethius* on vellum. But the next year he bought the huge *Miroir historial* of Vincent de Beauvais and the *Vies des saints peres*.

After giving his purse a rest in 1496, in each of the last four years of the century he acquired one vellum edition, and went on buying till 1506 or later.

These vellum books have been made more ungainly than they need be by being interleaved in order to protect their pictures, which are just up to the level of the better shop work of the time—when Vérard has not given himself away, as he does once, by providing a woodcut of Saturn devouring his children to help his artist design a picture of the holy family! The books are well printed on good vellum, and they are impressive in their own right from their number and size, and historically as having been bought as contemporary literature for an English king, and remained in royal possession for over two centuries and a half until another king presented them to the newly founded Museum. They pretend to be rather better than they are, which provokes irreverence; but they form a very great feature in the Museum collection, all the same.

As for Solomon da Costa's Hebrew books, which followed the Royal Library to the British Museum, I am informed that they only include three incunabula, two printed at Soncino in 1484 and 1485 and one at Naples about 1490. The Museum is now splendidly rich in Hebrew books of the fifteenth century; but these three appear to be all with which it started.

The first considerable bequest containing incunables which came to the Museum after its opening was that of the library of the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode who died in 1799. The importance of this gift at the time it was received was very great. Cracherode was a man of fine judgement and taste, all the books in his library were in admirable condition, many of them in fine old bindings, including quite a number bound for Grolier, and others in scarcely less beautiful modern jackets by Roger Payne. Among the 4,500 books in the collection, about a hundred were

incunabula, and they included—in addition to a block-book of the *Cantica Canticorum* (block-books are not really incunables)—both the Mainz editions of Cicero *De Officiis*, one on paper, the other on vellum; the Lamoignon copy (on vellum) of the Bible of 1462, one of the handsomest books printed in Germany; the Cicero *De Oratore* and Lactantius printed at Subiaco; two Sweynheym and Pannartz Roman editions printed in 1469; the Cicero *Epistolae ad Familiares* of the same year, which was the first book printed at Venice; an unsurpassable vellum copy of the Greek Anthology of 1494 in a beautiful contemporary binding; the Milan *Lascaris* of 1476, *Aesop* of about 1480, Greek Psalter of 1481; Maioli's copy of the *Hypnerotomachia* of 1499, and some nineteen other Aldines of the fifteenth century, including fine copies of nearly all his Greek editions. Also Cracherode had four Caxtons. The choiceness of his copies remains; gratitude for his gift remains, and admiration for the fastidious taste with which he selected from the books then at the height of the fashion the very finest examples; and yet one cannot help feeling it to have been hard luck that this small, carefully chosen, collection should after so few years have been overwhelmed by the acquisition first of one and then of a second great library, the two, between them, including, with, I think, less than a dozen exceptions, all the fifteenth-century books Cracherode had bequeathed to the Museum. Of course the Lamoignon copy of the Bible of 1462, the vellum Greek Anthology in contemporary binding, Maioli's copy of the *Hypnerotomachia*, will always stand out from their rivals. But whether Cracherode would have bequeathed them to the Museum if he had foreseen that two such libraries as those of King George III and Thomas Grenville were destined to find their way to the same home may be doubted. But if he was minded to set a good example, perhaps his Shade was not displeased that richer men followed it.

In 1820 Sir Joseph Banks bequeathed the reversion of his library of natural history books to the Museum, and it was received seven years later. It included several fifteenth-century editions of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, of which the Museum was eventually to possess sometimes two other copies, sometimes more; also some useful herbals in various languages.

We come now to the acquisition of the magnificent library formed by King George III, the ownership of which passed to the Museum in 1823, though, as a new gallery had to be built for its reception, it was not received and housed till 1829. The King had not spared money in collecting it; he had begun in 1762 by acquiring the library of Joseph Smith, for many years consul at Venice, for a sum of about ten thousand pounds, or only some three thousand less than the whole Harley collection of printed books had cost Osborne the bookseller nineteen years earlier. With all the money the King subsequently expended (estimated at £2,000 a year), though incunabula certainly received their due share of attention, he can hardly have got together a finer array of them than Harley's, for Harley had no fewer than a hundred and fifteen fifteenth-century editions of Cicero alone, and his Caxtons not only outnumbered the King's, but included the *Morte d'Arthur* of 1485, the only printed book the departure of which to America has caused me a pang. But whether the King's Library is or is not better than was Harley's, it is so wonderful a collection that to attempt to enumerate its treasures would be absurd. I propose, therefore, to consider what it gave the Museum in connexion with the nearly equally important Grenville bequest received in 1847, so as to save time and lessen the recital of titles and dates.

As far as I know, the numbers and distribution of the incunabula in the King's and Grenville libraries have never been set forth in print, an omission which has caused me to

spend a good many more hours over this paper than I thought would be necessary. After essaying various short cuts, which as usual only wasted time, I have been reduced to counting the copies in the two collections as entered in the five parts of the Museum Catalogue of fifteenth-century books at present published and, where these failed me, in a press-marked copy of Proctor's *Index*. According to my reckoning, well over eight hundred copies came to the Museum in King George III's library, and just upon seven hundred in Mr. Grenville's. The distribution of these copies is interesting. In Germany (including German Switzerland and Austria-Hungary) the King is over fifty ahead (197 to 145), starting with thirty-one Mainz books to Grenville's eleven, losing half a dozen in Strasburg, making a dead heat in Cologne (42 apiece), and gaining everywhere else. In Subiaco and Rome there is another dead heat, with seventy-four editions apiece; on Venice and the rest of Italy the King gains heavily, so that on Italy as a whole he is a hundred and ten ahead (511 to 401 by my count). But in France and Holland Grenville has twice as many incunables as the King, and in Spain runs away from him altogether, with nineteen to one, the total for France (with which I reckon Geneva), the Low Countries, and Spain being one hundred and nine for Grenville against fifty-one for the King. Finally, in England, the King wins back twenty-six on Caxton (38 including the Bruges books, against 12), and only loses one on the other printers, the totals being sixty-two against thirty-seven.

It is evident that over a large part of the ground the two collections were formed on closely similar lines, both being rich in early Bibles and early editions of the Classics; they differ in that the King was rather more interested in the history of printing (he obviously specialized on Mainz books), while Grenville was much keener on books of travel and more lenient to the Latin verse of the Renaissance; he was keener



also on vernacular literature, not only in Italian, but also in French and Spanish.

The differences thus summarized cannot appear very great, but my chief reward for my labour in counting is the discovery that the two collections do not overlap nearly as much as I had thought. Any one who looks at the early pages of Venice, or Rome, or even of Mainz and Strasburg, in the Museum Catalogue, or again at any entries of Greek books, will be so impressed with the duplication, or triplication including the Cracherode copies, that he may think that this must come near to halving the net gain to the Museum. As already mentioned the Cracherode collection does suffer badly in this competition in well-doing; but as between the King's and the Grenville libraries only a sixth of the copies clash, even from the point of view of the bad people to whom copies of the same edition are duplicates though one is on vellum and the other on paper, or even though they show slight variations in colophons or preliminaries, or in certain quires of the text. Well, I will let these bad people have their way, so that I may give greater dignity to the duplicates and not seem to be splitting up editions merely to swell numbers. Thus my final report is that these two collections contain some 1,250 different editions, and some 260 'duplicates' including vellum copies (where a paper one is also possessed) and minor variants. Thus one in eight of the Museum incunabula comes from either the King's or the Grenville Library, and without the help of these two collections the Museum incunabula would be like a body without a head.

Since the bequest of the Grenville books no single benefactor, to the best of my belief, has given the Museum as many as twenty incunables; but the fifteen which were chosen as part of the fifty books, manuscript and printed, which the Museum was allowed by Mr. Alfred Huth to pick from his library, were of the very greatest importance, both from their

high money value and as strengthening the representation of the early Lyons presses and French and Italian book-illustration. Grateful remembrance is also due to the donors who gave the Museum Mr. Voynich's collection of unique books, fourteen of which were of the fifteenth century, to Dr. Wickham Legg and Mr. Dewick for bequests of liturgical books, and to other minor benefactors.

I have said that without its benefactors the Museum collection of incunabula would be like a body without a head. It is equally true that without the additions that have been obtained by purchase the presented books would be like a magnificent head with only a most meagre and undeveloped body. From the point of view of subjects there would have been hardly any scholastic philosophy, very little theology, few service books, very little medicine, hardly any law. The classical interests of the fifteenth century would have been handsomely represented; the vernacular imaginative literature fairly well; all the medieval Latin literature and the professional books of the university teachers and lawyers and physicians, hardly at all. Typographically only ten German cities would have been represented by more than a single book, one of these being the little town of Schussenried, whose two books, because they had classical interest, were both in the Grenville Library and one of them also in Cracherode's. Bamberg, Lauingen, Urach, and Leipzig would have been represented by one book apiece; over thirty other German places into which printing was introduced in the fifteenth century, by none at all. Now ninety years ago the lack of typographical completeness would probably not have greatly worried our predecessors. The history of printing to them was mainly a question of origins. It was enough to illustrate it by a few fine books printed by the earliest printers in the chief centres of the craft. But the lack of the great bulk of the medieval Latin literature of the fifteenth century was

a very serious defect in a library into which Panizzi had instilled his ideals. As soon, early in the 'thirties, as a small annual grant was substituted by Parliament for the haphazard purchases of special collections, the acquisition of fifteenth-century books must have begun. In the German volumes of the Museum Catalogue there are no fewer than 155 incunables from the library of Dr. Kloss, sold in 1835. Not all of these were acquired in that year. The Museum has been buying Kloss books at intervals ever since they were dispersed. But the purchases at the time of the sale must have been very considerable. In 1844 the Museum must have been a very large buyer at the sales of the library of the Duke of Sussex. I noticed five-and-twenty entries of books of his in turning over the leaves of about half the new (Venice) volume of the Museum Catalogue, and subsequent investigation showed that the German section contained over a hundred. No fewer than thirty-one of these are editions printed by Ulrich Zel, so that the Duke must have had a passion for these almost equal to Mr. Jenkinson's.

All through the 'forties and 'fifties there is evidence of steady buying, one little lot of thirty incunables coming at the head of large purchases made by the Museum at the Costabili sale in Paris, so that buying was not only from booksellers and at English sales. The great flood came in the 'sixties, more especially in the years 1865-7. A single invoice of Messrs. Asher & Co. of Berlin, paid in July 1867, comprises nearly four hundred incunabula, and others show over a hundred. Many of these books are in their original bindings, and as the prices are often in shillings they cannot be reckoned dear. Most of them came from Bavarian libraries, and many have 'Duplum' or 'Dpl' written on the fly-leaf. Some of these were undoubtedly duplicates from the Royal Library at Munich and are marked as such. Others may have passed through the library, but being known to be duplicates

have escaped being stamped. The effect on the Museum collection of this influx of hundreds of books of the classes which had no interest for the great collectors was very notable. Nor was it confined to German printing only. There was a great trade between Bavaria and Venice, and the representation of the Venice presses benefited almost as much as the German. As an illustration I may point to Baptista de Tortis, of whom we think mainly as a printer of law books. In 1863 the Museum had eleven books from his press. There was a *Silius Italicus* which had come with the old Royal Library, a *Juvenal* of George III's, a *Masuccio* and *Pungi lingua* of Grenville's, a *Kloss Cicero*, and a *Specchio di Croce* of Cavalca from the Sussex sale, with two more classics, a book of medicine, and two law books, acquired miscellaneously. By October 1867 twenty-eight others had been added, mostly law books, making 39. By 1890 the number had risen to 51; it is now 64, and Baptista de Tortis is adequately represented by four books given to the Museum and sixty that have been bought.

There was a smaller influx, also from Germany, in April and July 1877, and I have noticed that a good many of these books are medical. Altogether it must be recognized that these German quarries were very productive.

Meanwhile in 1872 there had been held the sale of the wonderful Weigel collection of block-books and single sheets. At this sale the Museum must have been one of the most important bidders. From its great benefactors it had received four block-books; two with the King's Library, one from Cracherode, one from Grenville; it had bought eight or nine others as opportunity offered; now at the Weigel sale it acquired five more, including a wonderful copy of the first edition of the *Ars Moriendi*. It also obtained one after the other in single lots, eight documents (bulls, proclamations, and the like) printed by Fust and Schoeffer in connexion with

the dispute between the rival Archbishops of Mainz in 1461. Of most of these only one other copy is known, and typographically they offer magnificent proofs of Schoeffer's mastery of printing in small type. There was also acquired Schoeffer's printed advertisement of the 1470 edition of the Epistles of St. Jerome.

It is worth while to pause here for a minute or two, as we did over the acquisitions from Bavarian libraries in 1864-7, because I would like to emphasize the fact that Panizzi and the Keepers of Printed Books who immediately followed him, and must have been brought up in his traditions, were really keen about early printing at Mainz, and left hardly anything for their successors to do, only one Mainz book earlier than 1476 having been bought in the last five-and-forty years.

Taking the early Mainz presses in sequence we find that the 31 line Indulgence and three fragments of Donatuses were all bought; the 36-line Bible came from George III.

The 30-line Indulgence and a Donatus were bought; the 42-line Bible on paper came from George III; that on vellum from Grenville.

Fust and Schoeffer's Psalters of 1457 and 1459 came from Grenville and George III, but two very interesting cancelled leaves of the 1459 book, one of them uncut on three sides, were bought. Of twenty-three vellum copies nine came from George III, two from Cracherode, six from Grenville, and as many as six were purchased, though the two earliest acquisitions, made in April 1838 and January 1840, were placed in the King's Library, presumably in order that they might be under glass. Out of 56 books and documents printed by this firm before 1476, 46 are in the Museum, the gifts exceeding the purchases only slightly in number, but very greatly in pecuniary value, and yet the purchases filling up important gaps even in the books and supplying *all* the documents. After 1475 the tables are completely turned. There is nothing

from Cracherode, King George, or Grenville. A copy of the *Institutiones* of Justinian of May 1476 comes from the collection of Sir Hans Sloane and one of the undated *Herbarius* (printed about 1490) from that of Sir Joseph Banks; twenty-six other books and documents are purchases.<sup>1</sup> I think that the same care as was bestowed on securing generous representation for the early Mainz books must have been given to the Hebrew incunabula, printed mainly in Italy and Portugal. Out of 103 editions known the Museum possesses no fewer than 84, the largest haul having been that consequent on the acquisition of the library of Heimann Joseph Michael in 1848.

When I entered the Museum in February 1883 four of the six Sunderland sales had taken place, and two were still to come. I remember subsequently seeing a row of Sunderland books on the table of one of the senior assistants, and thinking that they must be very difficult to catalogue, but I have not had time to look up what the Museum actually obtained in the sales of this period. There were always fifteenth-century books coming in, and by and by I was initiated into the art of cataloguing them myself and found it very difficult indeed, in the case of books which did not tell their own tale, to check the ascriptions which were made by booksellers and auctioneers. There were very few facsimiles in those days, and no one since Panzer had worked on a large scale on the 'natural history lines' on which Proctor, inspired (through Gordon Duff) by Henry Bradshaw, was soon to produce his famous *Index*. The departmental expert before Proctor arrived was Mr. S. J. Aldrich, who had collected very useful notes on gothic types, but took less interest in roman ones.

In 1890 Dr. Garnett became Keeper and held office for

<sup>1</sup> In the case of the printer of the *Catholicon* (almost certainly Gutenberg) all the four books entered were contributed by George III (3 copies), Cracherode (2), and Grenville (3), but an additional copy of the *Tractatus rationis et conscientiae* of Matthias de Cracovia was purchased at one of the Sussex sales.

nine years. In the record of *Three Hundred Notable Books* acquired by the Museum during his keepership you will find that nearly a third are incunabula, among them being the one Mainz book before 1475 which I have seen enter the Museum; fragments of early Dutch *Doctrinales*; the first book printed by Jenson in gothic type, the famous Valdarfer *Decamerone* of 1471, wanting five leaves, but acquired for less than a thirtieth of the price obtained for the Roxburghe copy in 1812; the first books printed at Turin, Udine, Poitiers, and Toledo; the first books printed in Sweden and Montenegro, and no fewer than five Caxtons, with four other English fifteenth-century books.

Besides the incunabula thought worthy of special mention in the record of the chief accessions to the Department under Dr. Garnett, minor acquisitions were still being made in considerable numbers. But before the close of his keepership the specially large grant of £10,000 a year for building up the library of printed books, which had been voted from 1845 onwards, was reduced, and with the rise of prices which has proceeded at a rapidly increasing pace, the rate of antiquarian acquisitions was drastically curtailed. To be honest I must admit that the 'building up' of the library, for which the £10,000 a year was specifically granted, had made (let us say) some progress. For the ten years before 1845 grants had been on a less inadequate scale than in the early years of the century, and in some sixty years of 'building up' well over 6,000 incunabula must have been purchased. Some of these purchases had been specially made to improve the representation of particular printers, but in the main I think we must regard the increase of the incunabula section as an example of the faith-inspired miscellaneous buying which brought about the rapid development of the Museum stock of books in all directions. It appears to have been argued that by buying so far as its funds allowed—and money went far in buying



books in the mid-nineteenth century—any presentable book which it had not got, the Museum would ultimately acquire a representative collection more quickly than in any other way; and I think it did. In the course of this miscellaneous buying it seems to have acquired about one in six of the books which can be traced in the sixteenth century, and for these the typographical interest would not have been overwhelmingly great. Now of the books which come within the rather liberal definition of incunabula (cradle-books), we are on the way to trace some 30,000 editions, besides such broadsides and single sheets as have survived the much higher rate of destruction to which such flimsy stuff is liable. Thus on the analogy of what it has done for the next century we might expect the Museum to have acquired something over five thousand fifteenth-century editions in the ordinary course of its miscellaneous purchasing. The special interest taken in the early monuments of the press and the first printed editions of notable books, both by the Museum's benefactors, and by those who directed its purchases, caused the actual number of incunables registered as in its possession in 1898, when Proctor produced his *Index*, to amount to over 8,300. What these included may be seen in 'Proctor'. There were many gaps, but the ground in 1898 was already pretty well covered.

Since the publication of Proctor's *Index* in 1898 some fifteen hundred additional incunabula have entered the Museum, mainly by purchase, though (as already noted) in a few cases by gift. Thus with the reduction of the Museum's spending power the rate of increase has slowed down from over a hundred a year to about sixty, and this although, from a desire to continue the work Proctor began and to make the *Catalogue of Books printed in the Fifteenth Century* as complete as possible, incunabula have enjoyed many years of special favour. Some 420 German or German-Swiss books have been

bought (of these about 120 are waiting for inclusion in a Supplement); nearly 680 Italian, over 250 French, 80 for the Low Countries, 50 for Spain and Portugal, and 35 English. The purchases have thus been fairly in proportion to the total output of the press in the different countries, though it will be guessed that the effort required to increase the representation of France, Spain, and England has been unusually great. In the endeavour to increase the representation of the more interesting presses the Dunn sales, in which altogether over a hundred and thirty books were bought, were exceptionally helpful. Otherwise most of the purchases have been made from booksellers' catalogues, English and foreign. In Germany Eltvil and the monastery at Zinna have been added to the places represented, the former being important on account of the connexion of its press with Gutenberg, while the Zinna book is very elaborately decorated. In German Switzerland the one book printed at Sursee has been obtained, a copy of Schradin's *Chronik*. In the case of Rostock and Eichstatt it has been found necessary to transfer books which Proctor assigned to them to other places, most of the books he credited to Rostock going to Lübeck and those of Eichstatt to Würzburg. To fill these gaps undoubted examples of the presses thus denuded have been obtained. In Italy Rome has been increased by some seventy books, including a magnificent missal printed by Planck on vellum and decorated with two full-page paintings. This was only obtained with the help of three members of this society, Mr. Dyson Perrins, Mr. St. John Hornby, and Mr. Louis Clarke. Another greatly desired book, which went for over the Museum bid at the Pembroke sale in 1914, the Florentine Virgil with the commentary of Servius, was also ultimately obtained with the help of Mr. Perrins and the late Mr. Fairfax Murray and the sacrifice by Mr. Quaritch of his commission. This was the first book printed at Florence and

its prefatory matter is of exceptional interest. Seven Italian places, out of seventeen for which there is no entry in Proctor, have had their gaps filled, viz. Ascoli, Toscolano, Novi, Vercelli, Gaeta, Portesi, and Urbino. 'Venice' has grown, by the sheer force of the importance of the books printed there, to the size of the great volume which Mr. Scholderer gave me the pleasure of submitting to the Trustees just before I retired, and the accessions since 1898 number over two hundred and eighty. In France the representation not only of Paris, but also of Lyons has been greatly improved, the former by some 135 books, Lyons by ninety, including nine of the first printer and eight of the second, also the first edition of the *Roman de la Rose* attributed to Ortuin and Schenck, some of the best of these Lyons books coming, as already mentioned, from Mr. Huth. Ten books have been added to Toulouse, which in Proctor had only nine from the Museum; Angers is now represented by a complete book instead of by a fragment; there are six entries under Albi where Proctor had none, though some of these are transfers; Chambéry has six books instead of four, one of them being its first, and the set being now, I believe, complete; Tréguier, previously unrepresented, has now its first book entered under it; Rouen, which had twenty-four Museum entries, has now thirty-nine; Besançon has its first book, and there is at last an entry under the first press at Grenoble.<sup>1</sup> To the Low Countries it is difficult to add because the books so seldom come into the market; but Mr. Huth's bequest gave the first book printed at Kuilenburg, an extraordinarily interesting one on the legend of the Cross, with many woodcuts, and the last book I had the honour to recommend the Trustees to purchase was one of two printed at Alost with the date

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was read the Trustees of the Museum, on the recommendation of my successor, Mr. Farquharson Sharp, have acquired the first book printed at Avignon.

1473. The other has been lately acquired by the University Library at Cambridge, and either that library or the Museum has now the first dated book printed in Belgium, and the other the second. In Spain the additions have raised the Museum total from 98 to 150, and though this still leaves it below the usual average it is a great step forward. Lastly in England four Caxtons have been obtained (an *Indulgence*, the *Twelve Profits of Tribulation*, Legrand's *Book of Good Manners*, and the Statutes of 1-4 Henry VII), seven De Wordes, one Notary, three Machlinias, and in augmentation of the meagre twenty-five Museum entries to be found in Proctor under Pynson, no fewer than nineteen new ones including his first dated book, the *Doctrinale* of November 1492. Compared to the rate with which libraries grow up in the United States such progress as this towards the maximum which the Museum can hope to obtain is slow indeed; but where so much had been done before, by the great benefactors of the Museum, by Panizzi and his immediate followers, and by Dr. Garnett, it is not unsatisfactory that in the past twenty-six years it has been found possible to make these additions to the collection as it was recorded by Proctor. It is at once a pleasure and a duty to add that, but for the enthusiasm which Proctor's *Index* aroused, and for the inestimable help it gave, the report of what has been done since 1898 would have been on a much humbler scale.

## ANTHONY TROLLOPE AND HIS PUBLISHERS

### A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY AUTHORSHIP

By MICHAEL SADLEIR<sup>1</sup>

GOOD fortune and the kindness of a friend have put into my hands the complete record of the adventures among publishers of that prolific and (I am glad to think) now appreciated novelist—ANTHONY TROLLOPE. It is not my purpose on the present occasion to consider this writer's literary capacity, but to ask you to follow with me some of the economic adventures of his literary career. Wherefore, whatever good or evil you may think of Trollope as a novelist, and however warm may be my own enthusiasm for his work, we will not stop to argue or to rhapsodize, for the subject is irrelevant.

As an illustration of the economic conditions of nineteenth-century authorship and (by implication) of nineteenth-century publishing Anthony Trollope is ideal. His writing life exactly coincides with that period of last century that we call the mid-Victorian period. His first book appeared in 1847; he scored his first success in 1855. He died in 1882. During his thirty-five years of active authorship he produced forty-seven novels; five books of short stories; four books of travel; three books of essays; an edition of *Caesar*; a life of *Cicero*; monographs on *Thackeray* and *Lord Palmerston*; two miscellaneous volumes and an autobiography—in all sixty-six titles and one hundred and thirty-four volumes.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 17 November 1924.

In addition he privately printed one play and four lectures, and for a period of years edited a monthly magazine, to which he himself considerably contributed.

His books bear on their title-pages the imprints of sixteen different publishers. Of his novels eight appeared in monthly or in weekly numbers before their issue in volume form, and a large number of the remainder ran serially in some periodical prior to book-publication. Several were illustrated by well-known artists of the day. Many were remarkably successful, a few were complete failures; so that his bibliography comprises books now rare because they are established classics and were read to death, and books of the even more intriguing kind of rarity that is caused by obscurity, by short printing numbers, or by destruction long ago at the hands of disappointed publishers.

This is a record wellnigh unique in variety and in extent. The industry which went to its achievement is no present concern of ours; but its comprehensiveness is of direct importance. I know of no other bibliography of a single writer that offers over so long a period of time so unbroken a survey of published books of so many different genres; that offers such a variety of publishers' imprints, so variously stable and important; that illustrates so adequately the several methods by which literary work was during the period in question given to the public.

Then there is a further element in the chronicle of Trollope as a writer that recommends it to the student of literary economics. He was himself a man of keen business capacity, of high commercial probity, and of most methodical habit. In consequence he never neglected the financial aspect of authorship; he kept a minute record of all that appertained to his experiences as a professional writer; and he expected from the men with whom he did business the same punctilious dealing that he was careful himself to practise. His dossier

of notes and papers includes, therefore, the actual agreements (or more frequently the letters exchanged that took the place of formal agreement) between himself and his various publishers; the correspondence that passed between the parties, both agreeable and otherwise; the earnings of each book; the prices paid for short stories or for serial rights; the dates on which manuscripts were completed and books published; the offers of work made and after consideration accepted or rejected; and many other details which during a long life of active authorship from time to time occupied or interested him.

And in addition to these more or less technical minutiae, the file of papers throws much light on such general questions as the attitude in those days of authors to publishers; the writer's conception of his own duties and importance; and the evolution of a career of authorship both from the public viewpoint and from that of persons in the trade. From the relations between Trollope and his publishers and from his own conception of the ethics of authorship it would be dangerous to generalize, because his personality was in both a decisive factor. The history of his success, however, shows so surprising a similarity to that of a modern writer as to suggest that even in publishing and writing there is little under the sun of novelty.

Further, the basis of profit-distribution between publisher and author has remained curiously constant. To some extent the conditions of mid-Victorian book publishing differed so greatly from those of the present day that direct comparison is impossible. The mechanical processes of paper-making, printing, and binding now absorb a much larger proportion of a book's earning capacity, mainly because (and to my mind quite rightly) the work-people engaged on them are vastly better paid. Also, since Trollope died, the literary agent has arisen to confuse the economic issues. But, setting these external influences aside, the proportion in which profits are



divided was substantially the same in 1860 as it is in 1924. This, I think, among other things the Trollope papers show.

They show further that the fiction-writer of seventy years ago followed a path to success very similar to that marked out for the modern novelist. What is the normal progress of a young story-writer to-day? For his first book he receives no terms worth speaking of—perhaps he only finds a publisher through the influence of some relative already known in writing circles. His later ventures are rewarded according to the success or failure of their predecessors. In time, maybe, he becomes a popular favourite. His earnings increase and he is able to dictate terms to the suppliant editors and to publishers in anxious rivalry. His career continues, rising to great heights of profitable sale. But probably at last there comes a turning point and the saddest period of any artist's life begins. He is losing his vogue. The publishers, once so amenable and flattering, grow colder and a little difficult. Terms, at first and with a struggle maintained at their old level, have at the last to yield to circumstance. Down they go and down, as the once favourite story-teller slowly sinks into neglect and stringency. One can mention half a dozen cases of such melancholy twilight in the tale of nineteenth-century novelists alone—Ainsworth and Wilkie Collins; Ouida and Mrs. Oliphant; Henry Kingsley and the Mrs. Craik that was Miss Mulock. It would be easy to extend the list with names of writers still alive.

To some small extent Trollope himself belongs to this pathetic group, so that in this, as in other respects, the history of his writing life conforms remarkably to type.

He was thirty-one when he finished his first novel. He was living in Ireland and on small means in a remote country district. The book was a picture of the Ireland that he knew—an Ireland of squalor and dram-drinking, of uncouth good-

heartedness and cowardly blackguardism. It was not a good book, but it was sincere and in places vivid, and had none of the factitious sparkle of the fashionable fiction of the time. The chances of such a book, if submitted to London publishers by an unknown writer from Ireland, would have been deplorable. Fortunately Trollope's mother was a popular novelist, and to Frances Trollope, author of *The Domestic Manners of the Americans*, *The Widow Barnaby*, and many other works, the manuscript was sent. Frances Trollope got the book accepted by T. C. Newby, a man whose list consisted of the early books of unknown authors and the late ones of sellers past their prime, and had also (as it were ashamedly) a business in other folks' remainder sheets. This Newby accepted the tale that Frances Trollope sent him (perhaps he had hopes that the distinguished godmother might herself spare him a fiction if he acted amiably) and dispatched to Anthony Trollope an agreement for publication on half profits of this novel. The following details of the contract merit notice:

1. After deduction of manufacture costs, advertising, and incidental expenses, the profits were to be equally divided. The incidental expenses included 5% of gross incomings for overhead expenses and a further 5% for bad debts.
2. Sales were to be accounted for at trade sale price, 25 copies being reckoned as 24.
3. No author's copies were to be given by agreement (although in fact Newby did consent later to send Trollope eight, perhaps because he did not know what else to do with them).
4. There was no corrections clause.

Observe, if you please, the modest estimate of overhead percentage. This would appear (in one respect at any rate) to justify a modern publisher in speaking of the good old times.

Accompanying the agreement is a letter from Newby to the effect that he proposes to print 400 copies, and that a sale of 190 copies at a trade price of £1. 0s. 3d. would pay expenses. Once more the modern publisher looks longingly towards the past. Imagine 'getting home' on a novel with a sale of less than 200 copies!

When the book at last appeared it was a total failure. No profits were ever shown. The bulk of the edition was destroyed. The few copies that survived are now, with Hardy's *Desperate Remedies* and Gissing's *Workers in the Dawn*, the despair of nineteenth-century first-editionists. Whoever in some dark corner of a provincial bookshop finds the three volumes of *The Macdermots of Ballycloran* written by Mr. A. Trollope and published by Newby in 1847 should not let them lie.

Trollope's second novel was also a tale of Irish life. This book, *The Kellys and the O'Kellys*, was as great a failure as *The Macdermots*, and is to-day as rare. Newby had had enough of so unprofitable an author, and the manuscript was therefore sent to the writer's mother to try her skill once more. The old lady (she was nearly seventy) turned this time to her own publisher Colburn, who, for the sake of his so valued author Frances Trollope, accepted *The Kellys* and published it in 1848 on half-profits with incidental terms almost identical with those given by Newby for the earlier book. The first edition numbered 375 copies, the printing and paper of which cost about £100 (to-day they would cost roughly twice as much). £77 was spent on advertising (which seems a high figure for those days, and leads one to wonder whether indeed the money were so spent, or whether Colburn saw ingenuity in bulking the total of publisher's outlay to the extreme limits of credibility). Thirty-nine copies were sent to libraries and for review. During the first period of accounting 140 copies were sold (as 130) at a trade price of £1. 1s. 3d. each, a fact

which shows that the great Colburn had his retailers better in hand than had poor struggling Newby.<sup>1</sup> What became of the rest of the edition can only be conjectured. Probably the original sheets were jobbed, three volumes in one. Ultimately no doubt the greater part were destroyed. The book was not reprinted in three volumes, and Trollope has recorded that he never saw a penny of profit from the Colburn venture.

Yet, when two years later (in 1850) a third Trollope fiction made appearance, it was once more with Colburn. This is curious. The publisher (with that literary perception for which publishers are famous) had, some six months after *The Kellys* had been issued, written Trollope a letter, in which he said: 'It is impossible for me to give you any encouragement in novel-writing.' Nevertheless he gave the industrious aspirant one more chance. Maybe the mother threatened; maybe the fact that the new story was a costume novel led him to hope for better things. Whatever the reason, he took the book—*La Vendée* it was called and a sad, tedious thing it is to read—and paid the author £20 on the receipt of the manuscript. If 350 copies sold within six months, Trollope should have another £30; if 450 copies sold within six months

<sup>1</sup> Although this paper is not properly concerned with the trade relations between publishers and booksellers or with manufacturing costs in the 'fifties compared with those of to-day, it is permissible here to observe that in a private letter written by Trollope in March 1876 to a woman-novelist with whom he was acquainted it is stated (1) that the cost of 1,000 copies of a three-volume novel, including paper, printing, binding, and advertisement, was at that time about £200; (2) that Chapman & Hall sold their three-volume novels to the trade for 15s. Comparing these statements with the details just given of Newby's manufacture costs and of the terms allowed by Newby and Colburn to the libraries it will be seen that between 1850 and 1876 the costs of book-making remained fairly stable, but that discounts lengthened considerably. I think it may be regarded as certain that the widening gulf between the nominal published price of a novel and the price paid by the trade to the publisher was the gulf into which, early in the 'nineties, the three-volume novel took its final plunge.

the extra payment would be £50. There was no extra payment. The first £20 were never earned. And so for the third time Anthony Trollope was remaindered, and his bibliography shows a third 'failure rarity'. It may be remarked that *La Vendée* was never reprinted by any one in any form. It has this distinction, and also the less melancholy one of appearing in Part 15 of *David Copperfield* on a page of Colburn announcements that by its presence alone gives that number value.

For four years Trollope wrote nothing new. Then just before Christmas in 1854 Longmans published a short novel called *The Warden*. They had a half-profit agreement with the author, by which they charged no overhead or bad debt percentages, printed 1,000 copies, and gave the author six. The book sold slowly, but it made what nowadays we call a 'highbrow' success—that is to say, it had a circulation among the kind of folk who get books for nothing and in return scribble advice in public and pay private compliments. After the first six months Trollope only received £9. 8s. 8d., but these little cheques came regularly and by their very coming showed that the tide was on the turn.

The change is evident when we examine the agreement that Longmans made with him for that now famous story *Barchester Towers*. The terms were still half-profits; but an advance payment of £100 was given.

And now for the first time Trollope himself takes a hand in his literary destiny. He has hitherto been a writer with no reputation, a man living far away and content merely to see his fiction printed. But in 1857 he came to England and, needing a sum of money down, offered to Longmans the absolute copyright of *The Three Clerks* for £250. They refused. The book was taken to Hurst & Blackett (who were a new incarnation of Trollope's earlier publisher Henry Colburn), and they refused it also. It reached as a third

possibility Bentley, who promptly bought it and tried to take over *Barchester Towers* from Longmans. When, however, a few months later, he was asked to pay £400 for the absolute copyright of Trollope's next manuscript, *Doctor Thorne*, he hesitated, and unwisely counter-offered £300 down, with a further £50 after the sale of 1,250 copies and a further £100 if and when a new edition were required. Trollope was a hasty man, and had but an afternoon in London to complete negotiations before leaving for abroad. He refused Bentley's offer to his face and stumped from Old Burlington Street to Piccadilly with *Doctor Thorne* beneath his arm. An hour later he had sold the book to Edward Chapman for £400 and the connexion had begun between the firm of Chapman & Hall and the novelist who was to bring them so much of profit and eventually to join their board.

Now I am not going to follow thus in detail the story of all Trollope's earnings, for the recital would be wearisome and unenlightening. But from his début to this outright sale of *Doctor Thorne*, his seventh book, the careful process is rewarding, because it shows how very similar was Trollope's fight for publisher's appreciation during the 'fifties to that which a novelist of to-day must be prepared to support. After *Doctor Thorne* the graph of his success can more summarily be indicated.

The three books that followed immediately on *Doctor Thorne* show a limitation to three years of the period for which the publisher purchased the copyrights. In each case a sum down was paid, but this had reference only to the stipulated period, after which author and publisher divided profits and held the copyright jointly. This fact in itself marks a strengthening of the author's position, while the steady rise in the initial payments has similar significance. By 1859 the price of three years' copyright had risen to £600, and he was beginning to buy back half-shares in copyrights previously sold

outright and to arrange with Chapman for one-volume reprints of his first two books.

But in 1860 Trollope became of a sudden more expensive. He had a lucky opportunity and took it splendidly. Smith, Elder were launching the *Cornhill Magazine* with Thackeray as editor. The great man was to provide the starting serial but, being indolent, left it too late, so that one month before the first number of the much-boasted periodical was due for publication no principal feature was available. In panic George Smith, on Thackeray's suggestion, turned to Trollope, offering him £1,000 if he would write a novel that could start serially when the *Cornhill* started and afterwards be published in three volumes. Trollope accepted. At first he tried to foist off on Smith the then unfinished manuscript of *Castle Richmond*; but the attempt failed. He set his teeth and produced *Framley Parsonage*.

The immediate and enormous popularity of this story raised its author at once from a position of respectable and advancing saleability to the front rank of star novelists. Only seven numbers of the *Cornhill* had appeared before Chapman & Hall had bought for £2,500 the right to print 10,000 copies in monthly parts and in volume form of *Orley Farm*, and half the continuing copyright in the book. Printings beyond this number were to be made on a half-profit basis, and for the first time foreign rights (i.e. translation, American and Tauchnitz rights) were specifically reserved.

The basis of agreement chosen for *Orley Farm* remained for some while that used between Trollope and Chapman & Hall. The scale of remuneration varied somewhat, but the initial payment was for a specified number of copies (profits being divided on sales beyond the agreed limit) and for half the copyright. Thus for *North America* (1862) the rate was £1,250 for 2,500 copies—£500 per thousand; for *Rachel Ray* (1863) £1,000 for 3,000 copies—£330 per thousand;



for *Can You Forgive Her?* (1864) £3,000 for 10,000 copies—£330 per thousand; for *Miss Mackenzie* (1865) £1,200 for 3,000 copies—£400 per thousand; for *The Belton Estate* (1866) £1,500 for 2,000 copies—£750 per thousand. It should be remarked that the price paid for *Can You Forgive Her?* included the right to issue the tale in monthly numbers, and that paid for *The Belton Estate* was for serial in the *Fortnightly* as well as for book rights.

In the meantime Trollope was making with Smith, Elder some rather different contracts. For *The Small House at Allington* (1864) for serial in the *Cornhill* and for eighteen months of book rights he received £2,500. For *The Last Chronicle of Barset* (1867) for part-issue and book rights without limitation of printing number or period of sale he received £3,000. Finally, for *The Claverings* (1867), a much shorter book than either of the preceding, he received the same price of £3,000 but for absolute copyright.<sup>1</sup>

The high-water mark was still to be reached. After a few agreements for books of short stories, one-volume tales, and other miscellanea, the dossier reveals Trollope's first agreement with James Virtue, a specialist in art-books and table-books (those heavily gilt Victorian productions with wood-engraved embellishments) who wished to launch out into more general publishing. This Virtue came to Trollope with a proposal for the founding of a magazine which the novelist should edit

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting, in parenthesis, to quote the terms and prices given about the same time to other outstanding novelists. Instances are not easy to discover, but in one place I have found three that will serve my purpose: (1) Bulwer received in 1862 from Sampson, Low £1,500 for the serial rights and for two years' exclusive book rights of *A Strange Story*, a novel about the length of Trollope's *Belton Estate*; (2) Wilkie Collins received for the copyright of *No Name* £3,000. This was in 1863 after his great success with *The Woman in White*, and it is unlikely that he ever again (save with *Armada*) reached so high a figure; (3) Charles Reade also in 1863 demanded £3,000 for the copyright of *Hard Cash*, was counter-offered £2,250 for a period of years, and ultimately, refusing this, published the book at his own expense.

and to which he should contribute full-length serials. The terms were agreed. Trollope was to receive £1,000 a year for his editorial work, was to be paid at the fixed contribution-rate for his own miscellaneous contributions, and was to sell to James Virtue the absolute copyright of one or more new novels. *Phineas Finn*, published in 1869, was bought by Virtue for £3,200. It was stipulated that the book contain no fewer words than would fill 480 pages of *Cornhill* type. Six months later *He Knew He Was Right* was sold at the same figure. This time the stipulated length was that of *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, for which it will be remembered Smith, Elder paid £3,000.

The rate of payment for these two books was very high. As matters fell out it was too high. Trollope was not a good editor, having little flair for coming popularities, so that Virtue's magazine failed, and his new general publishing department cost so much that he made over the greater part of his business to the firm of Strahan. Trollope, after one unfortunate transaction with Bradbury & Evans (of which more later), returned to Chapman & Hall. His earning power seems to have been damaged by Virtue's unprofitable gamble. He continues to sell his copyrights outright but at a slightly lower price than Smith, Elder paid for their three great books—*The Small House at Allington*, *The Last Chronicle*, and *The Claverings*. At this slightly lower price, however, Trollope's prices are from 1870 to 1876 stabilized, and he commands about £2,500 for a full-length three-volume novel and sums pro rata for books of lesser content. In 1875 indeed he receives once more £3,000, but this is for *The Way We Live Now*, the longest of all his books and one containing not far off half a million words.

It is in 1877 that the market sags and Trollope's prices begin to sink. What was £2,500 in 1876 is £2,000 in 1877 and £1,800 in 1878. 1879 sees a rise to £2,000 again; but the

reaction is startling, and in 1880 he sells *The Duke's Children*, a long book and an important one, to Chapman & Hall for £1,400. In 1881 a three-volume story only brings in £1,000 for serial and book rights, and the same meagre payment buys *Mr. Scarborough's Family* in 1882, the last complete tale of three-volume length that Trollope wrote.

We are now finished with this rapid survey of the remunerations of a popular mid-Victorian novelist. It would be difficult and rather foolish to attempt a parallel between Trollope's earnings and those of a modern story-writer, because the mode of calculating authors' payments has so greatly changed. But certain elements in mid-Victorian trade conditions which emerge from a study of the papers summarized are to the investigator interesting.

In the first place, the *length* of a novel affected its value to a publisher much more directly than it does to-day. I have mentioned above one or two occasions upon which the length was carefully stipulated in the agreement, and here are several more. Further, not only did publishers insist that manuscripts should be of a certain length, but Trollope himself for his own convenience would plan his stories to fill a specified number of volumes. He writes of *The Claverings* as a 'three volume novel' (it was actually issued in two volumes, octavo); of *The Last Chronicle of Barset* as a 'four volume novel' and of *The Way We Live Now* as a 'five volume novel' (both of these books were also issued in two volumes, octavo). When new publishers approached him, he would quote his price—so much for a two-volume story, so much for three. He carried this rate-card system even to the marketing of stories. In 1878 he wrote to the editor of the *Masonic Magazine* that a 10,000 word story would cost £100, that a longer one would be proportionately more expensive, but that he would write no shorter story for any less amount.

Let us consider this matter of length from the point of view

of the publisher. A novel could be published in three volumes post octavo, in which case the published price was 31s. 6d. It could be published in two volumes octavo (to-day we speak of this size as demy octavo, a term that first appears in Trollope's contracts in the year 1871) in which case it was usually illustrated, printed from serial or part-issue type, and priced at 24s. (if the book were long), at 22s. (if of medium length), and at 18s. (if comparatively short). It could, if too slight for ordinary three-volume issue or unsuitable for an octavo size, appear in two volumes of post octavo format. Then it carried a price varying from 18s. to 14s. or even as low as 12s. Finally, a really short book would appear in one post octavo volume priced at 12s. (if the publisher had the nerve), at 10s. 6d. (if he were conventional), or at 9s. or even at 8s. 6d. (if he could not help himself).

Now it is evident that sums paid for novels would be fixed with reference to the price-carrying capacity of the printed book as well as with reference to the author's reputation. To-day such stress is never laid on a novel's length. I can imagine a publisher obtaining slightly easier terms for a novel so short that it could not carry the conventional price of 7s. 6d. net; but so far from paying more for a book of inordinate length he would urge its shortening, seeing that he may not (like his fortunate predecessors) fix his published price to suit his cost of manufacture.

Once more then to the novel-publisher the old days shine alluringly; while the author also may be sorry that he can no longer claim more money for having written more words, an arrangement which—in these days when payment by results is in some quarters bitterly opposed—may have to a few conscientious workers the triste attraction of a vanished equity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may be remarked in passing that the influence on literary composition of this valuation of fiction by length was considerable, just as the compressed

And now observe a further point. Before you exclaim that a modern novelist has £10,000 advance and keeps his copyright, while Trollope had only £3,000 for his complete interest in a novel, remember that Trollope's prices were for the British market only.

American popularity in those days brought little profit to an English author. No means existed of copyrighting in the United States an English book, and American pirate publishers were not then as now the shameful exception but the triumphant majority. Times have changed. The reputable American publisher is nowadays even more hostile to the theft of English literary property than is his English colleague. Indeed shame for the past proceedings of certain of his countrymen gives an intense vehemence to his condemnation of them. But it is not only an improved commercial morality nor even wholly the perfection of inter-copyrighting machinery that has destroyed the pirate's livelihood. The increase of the actual costs of manufacture has greatly helped the English author's cause. American book-producing costs were in the 'sixties and 'seventies extremely low. The work was badly done, but at least cheaply. To-day American book-production is not always faultless, but it is always costly. Wherefore, though many English novels appear over an American imprint and, being composed of English manufactured sheets, have no American copyright, cases of piracy are rare, because the pirate cannot manufacture his bastard book at a price low enough to make the underselling of the legitimate edition worth the trouble and the unpopularity involved.

Of Trollope's publishing adventures in America his dossier of papers (joined to some letters in my own possession) provides a few amusing particulars. Until the approaching completion of his large book, *North America*, he had had no direct dealings. ejaculatory style now in vogue has largely been created by the publishers' preference for novels of less than 100,000 words.

with American publishers. He had sold some short stories to *Harper's Magazine* and that firm had issued several of his novels, though (so far as I know) they did so without any contractual obligation toward the author. But with a book actually about the United States themselves Trollope thought an arrangement worth attempting. He agreed to send Lippincott early proofs of the Chapman & Hall edition, so that they could produce an edition rapidly before others had an opportunity of doing so. Lippincott contracted to pay a royalty of 12½ per cent. after the sale of 2,000 copies. Unfortunately Harpers were too clever for them and, having by some means got access to a text, rushed out a meanly-fashioned edition at 60 cents which wholly spoilt the market. Trollope was furious. In his private list of book-earnings he has written in red ink against the title *North America* the one word 'Cheated'. There can be no doubt that his later activity in the cause of American copyright for English writers was largely due to this personal experience.

A further example of the difficulties of a Victorian author during the 'sixties in the matter of American sales is provided by *The Belton Estate*. This novel was issued by Chapman & Hall in 1866. Here is a letter written by Trollope to those publishers on 20 December 1865 :

GENTLEMEN,

With reference to the conversation I had with you to-day regarding the re-publication in America of my work *The Belton Estate* by Messrs. Lippincott of Philadelphia, I must beg you to understand that I am altogether averse to the measure which you propose to adopt in placing early sheets, or rather entirely printed early copies, in the hands of Messrs. Lippincott for publication in America.

I must remind you that you have no legal power to do that which you propose to do, as, in my contract with you in reference to the work in question, I have especially kept the foreign rights in my own hands. When the book is published by you and has found its way to the United States, it will of course be open to any American publisher to re-publish it, and it is open to you to sell to any firm in the States or elsewhere any copies of the book as published by you.



But it is not within your rights to sell unpublished matter of mine to anyone, or to place in the hands of any publisher at any time volumes printed at your expense but bearing on the title page the name of an American firm of publishers.

I must therefore request that you will not send out to the Messrs. Lippincott any copies of the work so prepared and that you will not place in their hands any copies whatever of the work, till it has been published here.

I request also that you will be good enough to let me know that the copies prepared with the title page I saw to-day bearing the Messrs. Lippincott's name as publishers will not be sent to the United States.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.

There is a curious fatalism about this letter. Trollope accepts piracy as inevitable, but he does not for that reason intend that Chapman & Hall should exceed their contractual rights, even though by so doing they are not damaging the author's interests. It is of course possible that Trollope himself was contemplating selling for a few pounds to Lippincott the right of seeing advance proofs of *The Belton Estate*. But there is no evidence of this in the dossier of papers, and certainly such a project would seem improbable so short a time after Lippincott's unfortunate experience with *North America*. I prefer to regard the little incident as evidence of Trollope's insistence on contractual limitations, whether or no such limitations were of financial benefit to himself.

But by 1880 matters were so much improved that Trollope could make an agreement with the once hated Harpers, by which they were to pay him £100 for a sight of the sheets of his *Life of Cicero* three weeks before the book came out in England. The next year he receives £50 from the United States for *Ayala's Angel*. The turn had really come, though he was not to live to see the full fruits of his labours in the cause of copyright. Do those writers of to-day who live largely on American royalties ever spare a thought for the gruff, gallant old dog of a Trollope who in his crowded, tireless life yet found time to work hard and with success in the interest of authors yet unborn? Ah, well!—even if they



do not and he could know of it, he would only roar like the genial rowdy that he was and declare that he was just the same at their age.

To Trollope and to his kind was lacking not only the American but also the main part of the colonial market that is to-day so profitable to an English novelist. It may be conjectured that big selling novels which have a real vitality in their original 7s. 6d. form and make some pretension to literary quality (I add these qualifying words to exclude the class of fiction that appears only formally at 7s. 6d., that has no genuine sale in England but is immediately issued in cheap edition and shipped off to the colonies) sell nowadays as to about 60 per cent. of their total in Great Britain and as to about 40 per cent. in the various dominions and Imperial possessions. But a Trollope novel had to do without by far the greater part of the colonial sales that a book of equal popularity to-day would easily achieve, so that the publisher was constrained to look to the home market almost entirely to bring him back his outlay. I can find only one indication in the bundle of Trollope papers of any specific arrangement for colonial publication. In 1873 he offered early sheets of *Lady Anna* to a Toronto firm for separate Canadian issue. They agreed to publish in May 1874 and pay him 10 per cent.

What follows now is perhaps the most nearly bibliographical of any of the evidence provided by the Trollope papers and (strangely enough) at the same time the most considerably personal.

In the course of his career Trollope became the close friend of certain publishers. He was on the most cordial terms with George Smith, with the family of Blackwood, and—though the intimacy was less sympathetic—with Edward and Frederick Chapman.

On these pleasant passages of his writing life I would gladly dwell, were this a chronicle of Trollope as a man and brother. But our concern is to show him as an author on business terms

with his publishers and, if possible, to detect the bibliographical irregularities that arose from such associations. Oddities of book-building occur less frequently when intimate friendship rules between the parties than when relations are formal or strained. Wherefore Trollope's less amicable experiences are those most worthy of attention.

It has already been observed that he laid great stress on honourable and punctual dealing between man and man, and that nothing offended him more than to find his own stern sense of business propriety unreciprocated by those with whom he came in contact. He regarded himself as under contract not only to a publisher but to the public. Time and time again he stresses the responsibility on the artist—be he writer, painter or whatnot—to give good value to the public, to offer only the best work possible, and to keep faith with those who were invited to enjoy his art.

Not all authors have shown consciousness of these responsibilities, nor are publishers unknown who have been guilty of rather dubious dealings alike with their writer-clients and with the public. The two or three publishers of this kind with whom Trollope came into contact received sudden painful shocks; and among the sparks which flew gleamed one or two bibliographical curiosities which, being sparks, died in a moment and have now become extremely rare.

The first collision was with Alexander Strahan, publisher of *Good Words*, owner of *The Argosy*, and for its last phase publisher also of the ill-fated magazine *St. Paul's*, which Trollope, when it first started, edited. During the early 'sixties Trollope contributed some stories to *Good Words* and to *The Argosy*, which Strahan desired to publish in book form. This was in 1866. Terms were arranged, and Trollope determined to call the book *Tales of All Countries*. 3rd Series. He had already published with Chapman & Hall the first and second series of these tales, and Strahan (rather

naturally) asked in March 1867 whether a more distinctive title could not be given to the collection he had contracted to bring out. At the same time as he made the request, he sent the proofs of the stories which, to Trollope's indignation, were set for publication in two volumes. He wrote a strong letter to Strahan, of which this is an extract :

I regret to say I cannot allow the tales in your hands to be published in two volumes. I must ask you to understand that I altogether refuse my sanction to such an arrangement.

I have always endeavoured to give good measure to the public. The pages, as you propose to publish them, are so thin and diluted and contain such a poor rill of type meandering through a desert of margin, as to make me ashamed of putting my name to the book. I enclose a page of one of the former series and ask you to compare with the page from your own printer. I am grieved that the expense of second printing should be thrown upon you. Though I have not been in any way the cause of this, I will share the expense of this printing with you, on condition that you break up the type and print the stories afresh.

Strahan (who had doubtless made his *faux pas* in total ignorance of Trollope's prepossession) yielded and, perhaps in return, was allowed to give his book the title *Lotta Schmidt and other Stories*, under which name and in one volume it duly appeared in the summer of 1867.

Now, apart from the revelation of Trollope's staunch sense of duty to his public and his instinctive generosity<sup>1</sup> to a man whose methods he had felt obliged to challenge, this incident may contain the solution of an obstinate mystery in Trollope's bibliography. The novelist, as we have seen, himself regarded this book as the third series of his *Tales of All Countries*. What more likely than that in his private memoranda he should continue to refer to it under that title? In his list of books

<sup>1</sup> Another instance of Trollope's readiness to help a publisher who had not profited by association with one of his books is found among the records of his novel *The Duke's Children*, published in 1880. Six months after publication Trollope by chance found that Chapman & Hall were £100 out of pocket; he promptly sent them a cheque for this amount.

and their earnings published in his *Autobiography* appears, baldly enough, a third series of these tales. A rumour existed among book-collectors that such a volume had been published and was of the greatest rarity. But a rumour of the kind could easily be accounted for by Trollope's own unthinking use of the rejected title in his list of works. There can be no doubt whatever that in his list he was actually referring to *Lotta Schmidt*. Date and other evidence make this certain. And yet one day I was told by a well-known London bookseller that he had seen a copy of the Third Series of *Tales of All Countries*. He could not remember what it was like, nor when he had seen it, but seen it he indisputably had. This statement impressed me very much, for the memory of my informant is in its queer way infallible. At the same time I was at a loss for an explanation and could only think that for once he had made a mistake. Then this bundle of documents came into my hands. I now knew that the book existed in proof before the new title was agreed to and in two volumes. May there not have survived somewhere a set (or sets) of these proofs, roughly bound up and bearing on their title-page the first and ultimately rejected title? Is it not possible that such bound proofs formed the copy my bookseller was so convinced that he had seen?

Trollope's insistence on good measure for book-buyers makes other appearances than that just described. One may be mentioned merely by the way, as it had no consequence other than the provocation of the novelist himself. *The Belton Estate* was, according to the advance working table that Trollope always prepared for his own guidance, intended for a two-volume book. It appeared nevertheless in regular three-volume form and Trollope endorses his working table with the words: 'Surreptitiously printed in 3 vols.'

The case of *Sir Harry Hotspur of Humblethwaite* is more interesting. The firm of Macmillan bought the absolute

copyright for £750 and ran the tale serially in *Macmillan's Magazine*. The author's working table is headed: 'Dimensions: 8 numbers at 32 pp.; each page 260 words = 1 volume of 300 pp. ordinary.' So there can be no doubt of Trollope's own conception of its ultimate shape. Macmillan, however, wanted to make two volumes of the 65,000-word novel. Trollope objected, in a letter that I have printed in my Introduction to the World's Classics edition of *The Autobiography*. The publishers (rather handsomely) respected his objections, and sold the first edition book-rights to Hurst & Blackett, who brought the story out in one volume late in 1870 but with a title-page dated 1871. Macmillan reserved the right to take back control of the story after a stipulated period and to issue it in a cheap edition. They must also have reserved for themselves the right to sell the book from the beginning in the United States through their American house. This I assume because the other day I was shown a copy of *Sir Harry Hotspur* composed of first-edition sheets as used by Hurst & Blackett (they were printed by Clay of Bread Street Hill), but bound in an English binding of the series design used by Macmillan for their one-volume novels, with a Macmillan imprint on the spine, and on the title-page the imprint 'Macmillan & Co. New York'. A note in the writing of Mr. Hutt of Macmillans stated that six copies of the book were so bound.

This freak is curious. The book is wholly different from the Macmillan cheap reissue (published in the early autumn of 1871) which, though still printed from the original type, is cut down and shows the words 'New Edition' on its title-page. Here we have a volume of full post 8vo size, with an English binding, an American imprint on the title-page, and sheets printed for and used by another English publisher. The book's owner was of opinion that it pre-dated the Hurst & Blackett issue, but, if so, Macmillan must have ordered the

printing of the book, and reference to Messrs. Clay's records suggests (though does not absolutely prove) that the order came from Hurst & Blackett. Also it is in one volume and Macmillan refused to publish in one volume. It must then post-date the Hurst & Blackett issue. If so, why was it produced at all?

I can only hazard an explanation. In view of the circumstances of the case I have little doubt that the Hurst & Blackett London edition of *Sir Harry Hotspur* is the first edition. It is easy to imagine that Macmillan for their American issue purchased Hurst & Blackett's sheets and printed a New York title-page. Remembering that they had the intention themselves of publishing the book in England in a few months' time, is it unreasonable to suppose that they bound up six copies of the sheets destined for America in one of their stock English bindings to see whether, when the time came for the English new edition, the style would prove suitable?

The disagreement between Trollope and Messrs. Bradbury & Evans was of a somewhat different kind, although it arose, like his other disagreements with publishers, from his sense of business propriety. Its effect on bibliography was to give the world a set of monthly parts that otherwise would not have come into existence at all. Bradbury & Evans bought *The Vicar of Bullhampton*, serial and book rights, for £2,500. They undertook to serialize in *Once A Week*, but at the last moment informed the author that his story would appear instead in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, another but inferior periodical in their ownership. They explained that they had previously contracted to serialize a new Victor Hugo novel in *Once A Week*; that the great Frenchman was late; that two serials at once could not be managed; that rather than keep Mr. Trollope waiting . . . and so forth and so on. Trollope refused to stand down in favour of any Frenchman and

insisted that the publishers in some way interpret their contract to his satisfaction. The only solution of the difficulty was to issue *The Vicar of Bullhampton* in monthly parts. This Bradbury & Evans did, and sulkily, for the heyday of part-issues had gone by and the commercial prospects for a new experiment of the kind were discouraging. Probably they printed as short a number of part sets as decently they could. In any case the novel in its monthly numbers is now very scarce—much scarcer than some other Trollope stories which had in earlier, less hazardous days achieved part-publication.

One other bibliographical curiosity may here be noted, although it arose less from disagreement between Trollope and a publisher than from a publisher's anxiety to limit his loss on an unfortunate transaction.

The unlucky speculation in the magazine *St. Paul's*, combined with the too high prices paid to Trollope for his copyrights, was (as I have said) influential in the retirement of James Virtue from general publishing and the transference to the firm of Strahan of a great part of his responsibilities, including that of Trollope's magazine and book contracts. Strahan's name first appears on the title-page of *St. Paul's* in June 1869. *Phineas Finn* had already run serially to completion, and with the number of January 1870 was published the first instalment of Trollope's new novel *Ralph the Heir*. It was published in a very unusual form. For eleven months (January to November 1870) there was issued, stitched in at the end of the magazine, separately paged and *with a wrapper of its own*, a section of this novel *Ralph the Heir*. Each section had a full-page plate. From the twelfth section to the nineteenth and last (from December 1870 to July 1871) the separate wrappers disappeared and the illustrations ceased.<sup>1</sup> This in itself is a remarkable variety on normal

<sup>1</sup> Collectors will observe that the eleven wrappers to the *St. Paul's* 'Supple-



serial issue. But it becomes more remarkable still when it is realized that there were also issued an independent set of nineteen monthly numbers of the novel, each with its wrapper, each (save for part nineteen) with its illustration, and each bearing a date that corresponds with that of the same section when published as a supplement to *St. Paul's*. The part-issue proper has the same wrapper as that used for the first eleven parts of the *St. Paul's* issue, save that the former bear the words 'PRICE SIXPENCE' and the latter 'SUPPLEMENT TO THE SAINT PAUL'S MAGAZINE' printed on the front.

With the appearance of the story in book form the tangle is further complicated. Before the serial run was quite complete *Ralph the Heir* was published in three crown octavo volumes without illustrations and *not* by Strahan but by Hurst & Blackett. Two months later (with the finish of the serial) it was again published, this time by Strahan, in one demy octavo volume, printed from the serial type and containing the eleven illustrations that appeared in *St. Paul's*, but *not* the other seven illustrations that were included in the regular part-issue. Finally and a short year after the Strahan issue, *Ralph the Heir* was published by Routledge (yet another publisher) again in one volume, again printed from Strahan's serial type, but with the *whole* series of eighteen illustrations.

How may this strange medley of publishing ventures be explained? Once more I can only suggest a possible solution, which, though perhaps a mistaken one, at least covers the known facts. Here is the theory.

The Strahan firm were discouraged with the sale figures of *St. Paul's*. They had a new Trollope novel in hand and told themselves that, if they used this for ordinary serial adornment of a dying magazine, they would not revive the magazine and

ments' were not included in the semi-annual volumes (vols. 5 to 8) issued by the publishers in specially prepared cloth cases. The wrappers only occur in copies of the magazine as issued monthly.

would at the same time waste a potential source of profit. They were bound to make serial issue in some form, for the sum the book had cost (£2,520 for the absolute copyright) was too great for volume publication by itself to earn. So they decided to attempt a series of monthly numbers, for which separate subscriptions would be obtained and (as it were) represent so much 'found money'. Advertisement revenue was equally a possibility. They announced the monthly numbers. But the response was poor; few advance subscribers came forward and no advertisements were obtained. Nevertheless the scanty subscriptions that *were* received had to be satisfied. Strahan therefore printed their parts and wrapped sufficient in regular part-issue wrappers priced at sixpence to meet the small demand. The balance of the printing (and it was probably the major part) they used, after all, for inclusion with *St. Paul's* in the form of Supplements. Why, after part 11, the wrappers and the illustrations were dropped, seeing that they had in any case to be prepared for the part-issue proper, I cannot explain. The blocks could not by any hazard whatever have been lost or defaced, for they were used for printing plates in the concurrent parts and they survived for the Routledge edition issued two years later. The economy of their omission would be of the smallest. Surely so trivial a saving as, in those days of cheap production, would result from not using a few sheets of wrapper paper and a few thousand plates could hardly justify a proceeding so irregular?

The next stage in Strahan's attempt to get back some part of the money paid for the copyright of *Ralph the Heir* was clearly the sale of the three-volume book rights, with the privilege of publishing just before the close of serialization, to Hurst & Blackett. Whether that firm were prepared for Strahan's own one-volume edition (which would sell at less than 31s. 6d.) making its appearance so soon after their own

three-volume issue we do not know ; but it is hard to believe that the two versions did not conflict one with another.

Finally—and because *Ralph's* earnings still had not brought back his cost—Strahan disposed of him to Routledge, a firm who at that time specialized in cheap and very ugly reissues of other folks' *démodé* fiction. The Routledge edition, however, contained the full eighteen illustrations. Why? Once more I do not know.

There is much more of personal and publishing significance in this dossier of Trollope papers, but further pursuit would lead us either to minor technicalities of the mid-Victorian book trade or to questions of psychology that can hardly be debated without a more fundamental study of Trollope's character than would be suited to our present theme.

At this point, then, leave may courteously be taken of Trollope and his publishers. Their correspondence, from one point of view so bleak and businesslike, surely justifies its preservation. I wonder if any other record of a past writer's career survives in such informing detail? I wonder whether among authors of his eminence such a record has ever been compiled? It is possible ; but I am little sanguine. Earlier than about 1820 one would hardly have been possible, for the publisher was until that date a somewhat misty functionary and, as the early negotiations between Sir Walter Scott and Constable and Ballantyne demonstrate, far from the powerful entrepreneur that, as the century went on, he gradually became. During the last hundred years, however, there have been opportunities. Were there authors of the right turn of mind to take them? One can imagine Browning doing so, or Ruskin ; but even if they were thus thoughtful of posterity, the one would (by the very nature of his authorship) be less comprehensively suggestive than is Trollope, while the other (who rigidly controlled his publishers and had a large financial

share in costs more normally borne by the publisher alone) would be less typical of the professional writing man. Can Dickens be conceived in mood thus secretarially meticulous? If so, his hidden diaries may well shake Forster's reputation for veracity. Descend a little in the scale of eminence. Did Ainsworth, maybe, or Bulwer<sup>1</sup>; Disraeli, G. P. R. James, or even Mrs. Gore—perform for the second quarter of the nineteenth century the service Trollope rendered to the third? If so, we may be happy yet in the possession of a complete *aperçu* of sixty years of publishing and authorship, by means of which many problems—bibliographical, psychological, and literary—will find solution. Would that it may be so! The hope is faint; but it is pious. Wherefore, with your permission, I will declare it.

<sup>1</sup> A few weeks ago a London bookseller catalogued a series of agreements between Bulwer and his publishers. But to my disappointment they referred only to the collected edition published by Routledge in the 'seventies, after the author's death, and were therefore of little evidential importance from the point of view of publishing history.

## THOMAS CHURCHYARD'S SPELLING

By M. ST. CLARE BYRNE

IT is curious in these days of careful investigation of the pronunciation of English in the Elizabethan and other periods to find a genuine 'phonetic speller' overlooked. Such, however, has been the fate of Thomas Churchyard, to whose multitudinous writings little or no first-hand attention appears to have been given for the last forty years. This neglect is rendered all the more surprising by the fact that several of Churchyard's biographers and critics have called attention to his spelling, Chalmers in 1817 labelling it as 'absurd', and Bullen in 1887 commenting in the *Dictionary of National Biography* on 'the eccentricities of spelling and punctuation which Churchyard adopted in many of his writings'.

My attention was called to this spelling by the occurrence of the following in 'The Fortunate Farewel to the most forward and noble Earle of Essex'—a short poem of 120 lines written by Churchyard in 1599, and printed by Bollifant for Wm. Wood. When removed from their context the words are not always obvious, so in a few cases I have given the modern spelling in brackets: Seamer (Seymour);<sup>1</sup> hoem, hoests, bloem (bloom), hoep, bloody, boeth, coep, troeth, Tyroen, bloe, croe, roes (rose), oen (one), foer (fore), abroetch, reproetch, knoes, boern, shoe (show), groes, hoels, blood, whoes, locks; surprisesd, gied, ried, warliek, pick, liek, bied, kiets, fier, attier, viel (vile); paeth, aer (are), maeks, daer, gaem, taeks, haest, shraep (shrape), shaek, aegis (ages), haer-brain, Annaels (annals), begaet, shaem, wraeth, haets, faem,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the spelling 'Semer' in Machyn's *Diary*. 'Semer' = [sɪmə(r)], the -r- indicating the levelling of the vowel in the unstressed syllable under that slipshod indeterminate sound ə which we so commonly use still.

estaets, plaeg (plague), quaek; rued, ruel, abues, mues (muse), rueth, enduers, suer, bruet (brute); whear, thear, theas, veaw (view), ear (e'er); contreis; rooet (root); conshens; mereyles (? misspelling for mercyles = merciless).

Whatever an expert might think of the result it seems to me that there can be little doubt of Churchyard's intention in this poem. He is deliberately and consistently trying to represent the sounds of his own speech. Whether he used his own system accurately or not is a question for the phonetician to determine, but that he had a system seems obvious from the above poem and from such sequences as the following, taken from others of his works: moshons, promoshon, dissenshon, grashos, conshens, preshoes, devoshion; Joeb, Joen; suckor, lickor; eatch, mutche, sutch, seartch, fitchars, cowntcht, ritche, towitche, breatch, reatching, chortch, wreatch, coatche, patcht. These phonetic spellings of his cannot be classed with the 'occasional' spellings<sup>1</sup> to be found in letters and diaries which have proved so valuable in helping us to determine pronunciation.

Fortunately we are able to assure ourselves that these spellings are really Churchyard's and not a crazy compositor's by referring to several of his autograph letters which are preserved in the British Museum. The manuscript copies of his poems 'A Rebuke to Rebellion' and 'The Siege of Leith' are both the work of copyists, and the letters from him contained in Addit. MS. 15891 have all been copied into this letter-book by the scribe who has copied the great majority of the letters contained in it. In Lansdowne MS. XI (p. 126), however, we possess an autograph letter of Churchyard's, dated 24 May 1569 which gives us the following spellings: moest, toek, sutch, whearby, hoep, eskues (excuse),

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Wyld's *History of Modern Colloquial English*, p. 113 (2nd ed.): 'It must be made clear that the phonetic spellings, which we advisedly call occasional spellings, are rarely consistently used by the same writer, even for the same word.'

maed, saem, adverteyes, whoes, presuem, thear, dyssypulls, troeth, cuerles (cureless), Baeth (Bath), muesse (muse), proeff, hoell, hindrars, lankesheer, naems, oen, laem, mutch, boeth, assueredly, lyeff, flawnders, spaers, bloody, aer (are), neast (nest), knoe, nue, contreis, rebuek, juegging (judging), moer, suerly.

There are also other letters of his in Lansdowne LX (pp. 252, 257) and Harleian MS. 6999 (213): the latter belongs to 1581, and the two former to 1591. They are all as consistently spelt as the one of 1569. From them we obtain therefore the authority of the author's manuscript for the system of spelling found in the 1599 poem, and for the same spellings when found in any others of his printed texts. From the bibliographical point of view it therefore becomes of interest to inquire how far the different presses at different dates preserve traces of Churchyard's manuscript spellings, and how far they consistently normalize.

It is certainly curious and unusual to find a compositor, as late as 1599, following with such absolute consistency the peculiar spellings of an author's text. For its date the 'Fortunate Farewel' is undoubtedly a freak, and one cannot help feeling that the preservation of its spelling must have been by special request. The spelling of other books printed by Bolland between 1595 and 1600 is quite ordinary.

With this exception, and one other, very different treatment has been meted out to the remaining productions of his very pedestrian but indefatigable muse which are available in the British Museum. A round dozen in all, the majority of them show throughout perfectly normal spellings, with every here and there a slip on the part of the compositor which reveals Churchyard's system. A typical example is his 'Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboishers Voyage to Meta Incognita', published by Andrew Maunsell in 1578. The dedicatory epistle, normalized on the whole, reveals Churchyard's manuscript in the following: hoep, Patroen, parsonage (personage), veaue (view), understoed, sutch, exer-



cies, fabulls, myen (mine), shoes (shows), triefle. The text, with two or three exceptions, is perfectly normal. 'The Miserie of Flaunders', printed also by Maunsell in 1579, is much the same. In it the following occur: pardonabel, groens, haells (hales), maeks, streats, laisure, baebs, ruen (ruin), adue, haets, broiels. Apart from these instances, however, the spelling is normal.

His 'Sorrowful Verses', an elegy on Queen Elizabeth, published as a broadside without printer's name or a date, has no instances of his peculiar spellings; and his 'Good will', published by S. Stafford in 1604, has only two examples. The following may be described as normal with just a few lapses: his 1572 translation of Ovid, printed by Marshe; the 'Lamentable and pitifull Description of the wofull warres in Flaunders' (Newberie, 1578); 'A generall rehearsall of warres' (White, 1579); 'Churchyard's Charge' (John Kyngston, 1580); 'A Scourge for Rebels' (Cadnam, 1584); 'A Handefull of Gladsome Verses' (Joseph Barnes, Oxford, 1592); 'Churchyard's Challenge' (Wolfe, 1593); 'A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk' (Bynneman, [1578]); 'The Worthines of Wales' (Robinson, 1587).

The one exception which can be grouped with the 'Fortunate Farewel' is the 1575 edition of the First Part of 'Churchyard's Chippes', printed by Marshe. The fidelity with which the compositor followed the manuscript spelling varies from poem to poem. In the 'Siege of Leith', for example, it is almost consistently normal, and the 'Farewell to the World' is normal with a few lapses. 'The Tragedy of Sir Simon Burley' tends to be normal; the 'Roed into Skotland' varies, but is normal on the whole. The 'Doleful Discourse' is consistently Churchyardian for its first few pages, then it becomes almost as consistently normal. In the case of 'The Spider and the Gowt' exactly the opposite occurs; for the first few pages it is practically normal, then

Churchyard's spellings are consistently adopted. In the remaining pieces in the volume the compositor has chosen to follow the manuscript throughout.

One of these last happens to be the 'Tragicall discourse of the unhappy man's life', and as this particular poem appears again in Marshe's 1578 reprint of the 'Chippes', and also in the volume called 'Churchyard's Challenge' printed by Wolfe in 1593, it is interesting to see the successive modernizations to which its spelling was subjected. Marshe presumably reprinted from the 1575 edition, so that the spelling of the 1578 text probably represents the 'normalization' which the ordinary compositor in the 'seventies—when freed from the tyranny of the manuscript—considered necessary, for the honour of the printing house. Similarly Wolfe's text reveals the modernization considered necessary by the ordinary compositor in the 'nineties.<sup>1</sup>

The following are a few of the more interesting examples :

1575.	1578.	1593.	1575.	1578.	1593.
poer	pore	poore	preace	preace	prese
wyesly	wysely	wisely	sweater	sweeter	sweeter
throet	throte	throate	ritche	rych	riche
stoed	stode	stoode	harber	harbour	harbour
pybull	pybull	pible	woords	woords	wordes
loekt	lokt	lookt	myen	myne	mine
whyels	whyels	whiles	moen	mone	moone
soen	sonc	soone	fauls	falles	falles
sarv'd	Sarv'd	serv'd	hear	hayre	haire
yeild	yeld	yeeld	corraeg	corage	courage
dollor	dollor	dolour	pashent	pashient	patient
creping	creping	creeping			

That these phonetic spellings of Churchyard's will convey to the phonetician little or nothing that he has not already learned from the 'occasional' spellings of the period seems very likely. Even to an amateur it looks as if in some cases

<sup>1</sup> Both of them have spasmodic lapses when they follow Churchyard's spelling in perhaps two out of five instances in a stanza.

he was not able to use his own system accurately. His *oe*, for example, seems to serve too many different purposes. When he writes such forms as Rawley (Raleigh), fawcon (falcon), Dawlkeeth (Dalkeith), Chawser (Chaucer), Syrse (Circe), or indicates ellipsis of the medial syllable in such words as gardnar and prisnar, he is probably being perfectly accurate. When one finds him giving the dissyllable 'gereef' in a line where the metre absolutely demands the ordinary monosyllable 'grief' one begins to suspect his occasional unreliability; on the other hand he falls into this one sound-error in order to indicate another sound—namely, the rolled *r* which does not roll for most English people. Be his phonetic value what it may, however, it is only just that attention should be called to his deliberate efforts, and that the undoubted bibliographical interest of the relation between his manuscripts and his printed texts should be recorded.

In conclusion a note may fittingly be added on the so-called eccentricity of Churchyard's punctuation, left by Bullen without any further comment. So far as the poems are concerned the explanation is not far to seek: his redundant commas are simply used to mark the caesura in each line. Investigation of any of his printed poems which exhibit these 'eccentric' commas makes this obvious, and it is noticeable that in the 'Fortunate Farewel' the pause is further insisted upon by a space

Now Scipio sails, to Affrick far from hoem,  
The Lord of hoests, and battels be his gied,

A traitor must, be taught to know his king,  
When Mars shal march, with shining sword in hand.

Even in such poems as the 'Siege of Leith' where his peculiar spellings are not retained the caesura is carefully marked in this way, and it is also carefully preserved by the scrivener who prepared a presentation copy of his 'Rebuke to Rebellion' (Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 17. B. VIII).

## NOTES ON CANCEL LEAVES

By R. W. CHAPMAN

SOMETHING was said of cancel leaves in my *Notes on Eighteenth-Century Book-building* in a recent number (iv. 3) of *The Library*. But as the subject is of some importance—an importance that is only beginning to be appreciated—it seems to deserve discussion in somewhat greater detail. It is perhaps not too much to say that, for the period from the Restoration the investigation of cancels is the most important service that bibliography can render to the historical and textual parts of criticism. Corrections and afterthoughts to which effect was given in this way are clearly of greater moment than the small and often trifling alterations, made while the sheets were at press, which are laboriously enumerated by bibliographers as constituting different 'states' of famous books. The trouble is, of course, that while it is easy to detect cancels, it is much more difficult to find that which was cancelled. Many suppressed leaves, however, have been found; and many more could be found if editors and others were informed and alert.

The practice of cancelling a leaf<sup>1</sup> is well known to printers and publishers to-day, and is a common way of removing an error, especially in an edition or part of an edition that has been bound before the discovery of the error. But it was very much commoner in the eighteenth century; partly, no doubt, because the ways of printers and publishers were less orderly then than they are now, and more respect was paid to the whims of authors; but partly also for technical reasons. If an error is discovered to-day which is too serious to remain, it will probably be corrected, for any part of the edition which is still unbound, by reprinting a four-page 'fold', or even the whole sheet. A publisher is willing to take this

<sup>1</sup> Cancels consisting of a *part* of a leaf, pasted on, are here ignored, being uncommon in the period under consideration.

course ; (1) because the type, if the book was printed from type, is probably still standing ; (2) because the extra cost of printing will be counter-balanced (or more) by the saving in the bindery, where a pasted cancel means extra handling ; (3) because the extra cost of the paper is negligible. An eighteenth-century publisher in the same case would prefer to cancel a leaf ; (1) because the type of the sheet was, in all probability, already distributed ; (2) because the extra cost in the bindery, where all operations were manual, would not be great ; (3) because the extra cost of paper would be substantial.

These reasons concurred to make the practice of cancelling exceedingly common. When I examine first editions of my period I expect to find a cancel in one book out of three ; and even in later editions cancels are quite frequent. Their importance is obvious. No bibliographical description of a book can be regarded as adequate which does not enumerate the ascertainable cancels, with a view to the discovery, if possible, of the passages so suppressed or altered.

A cancel was effected by reprinting a leaf or leaves and substituting it or them for the originals. If one leaf was to be cancelled, it was removed in such a way as to leave a strip or ' stub ' of the inner margin, so that the sewing would hold, and to provide a hinge to which the new leaf might be pasted. Often, however, a careful binder would remove the whole of the leaf, and paste both the new leaf, and the fellow of the old, to adjacent leaves. If this was done well enough, hardly any trace of it might appear ; so that in a well-bound book the absence of stubs or of visible pasting does not prove that there are no cancels. Another possible way would be to print the new leaf on a piece of paper rather wider than a leaf, so as to give it a ' turn-over ' of its own. This was often done (and is still done) with frontispieces, engraved title-pages and the like. I do not know if it was ever done as a means of inserting a cancel without paste. If it were done, then there might be two stubs for one cancel.

It will be convenient to enumerate the various indications, more or less decisive, of the presence of a cancel.

1. *Ocular demonstration.* If an unbound, and for choice an uncut copy—best of all, if an unopened copy—can be examined and pulled about, it is not difficult to see what happened. Each pair of conjugate leaves—that is, of leaves which have a common inner margin, and remain one piece of paper after a book has been cut or opened—can be inspected separately, and any single-leaf cancel readily detected. It is only when a book has been bound, and the inner margins coagulated with binder's paste, that the difficulties begin; then the relation of the leaves cannot always be discovered even if they can be pulled about—pulling may merely tear them. A good deal may be done, however, by judicious prying, even if damage to the binding may not be risked.

2. A stub, if it really is a stub and not the turn-over of an original single leaf (e.g. a plate) or of a binder's end-paper, is certain evidence of a cancel.

3. Any 'pinching' of the inner margin which seems to be due to paste should be suspected, even if no stub is discernible.

4. The use of an eccentric signature. This is now the normal way of distinguishing a cancel. It was not very common in the eighteenth century. Starred or bracketed signatures were, however, sometimes used for this purpose.

5. If a leaf is signed which would ordinarily bear no signature. It is almost a rule in the eighteenth century to leave unsigned the second half of the quire. There are exceptions in folio and quarto; e.g. the third leaf of a quarto in fours, or the fourth of a folio in sixes, may be signed throughout a book. But I have not seen an octavo of this period of which the fifth leaf is signed, nor a duodecimo of which the seventh leaf is signed. It should be noted, however, that though many octavos and duodecimos have only the first three, or five, leaves of the quire signed, yet the habit of signing the fourth or sixth was so strong that these leaves often have

signatures in books in which they are not generally signed. So that e.g. A 4 in octavo is quite probable even if B 4 &c. are not so signed. But such a signature as A 7, in octavo or duodecimo, is almost positive proof of a cancel.

6. If a leaf, which is not the first of a quire, bears what is now sometimes called a 'catchword', such as 'VOL. I'. There seems to be no reason, except a cancel, why such a catchword should ever be printed on any other leaf than the first, if—as normally happens in 4°, 8°, and 12°—the sheet and the quire are identical.

7. The practice of 'printing with figures' (*Library*, iii. 3) may afford a clue. A figure printed at the bottom of a page indicates the press on which the forme containing that page was printed. As no more than two presses could be used to print one sheet, two (different) figures per sheet is the maximum. If cancel leaves were ever 'printed with figures'—a point which I cannot decide<sup>1</sup>—then a sheet containing a cancel might exhibit three figures.

8. If a leaf is printed on a piece of paper which cannot have formed part of the sheet as originally printed. This might be detected by a difference in the quality of the paper or by the appearance of a different watermark; or by discrepancy in the distance between the chain-lines; or by the incidence of the watermark (see below). If the chain-lines are horizontal when those of the other leaves are vertical, or vice versa. If, in a book with horizontal chain-lines, those of two leaves, which should be conjugate, do not tally. If, in a book with vertical chain-lines, those on one leaf do not tally with those on another leaf to which, before the top edge was opened, it was joined (e.g. A 1 and A 4 in octavo). This last test can hardly be applied to octavo if the top edge has been cut; it is of course inapplicable to folio.

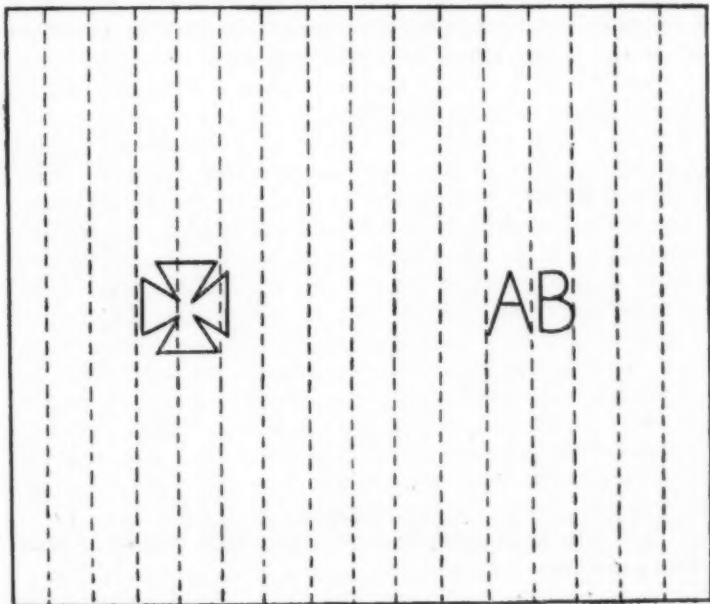
9. Eccentricity in printing or in the margins may be a cause

<sup>1</sup> I am told there is an example in the first edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.



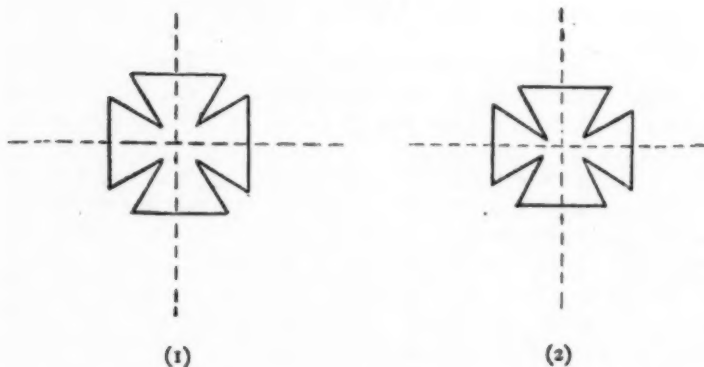
for suspicion. A compositor resetting a cancel leaf might readily e.g. use 'wrong fount' figures for the page-number. Irregularity of margins is usually due to faulty folding; but this cause must affect more leaves than one. If therefore one leaf only of a sheet is noticeably 'dropped' or 'skied' &c., a cancel may be the reason.

10. Watermarks. This, which is one of the most important tests, is not always easy to apply, and it is difficult to describe it briefly. The watermark was normally placed in the middle of the half-sheet; and in the eighteenth century there was not infrequently a second watermark (consisting very often of the maker's initials or the like) in the middle of the other half-sheet.



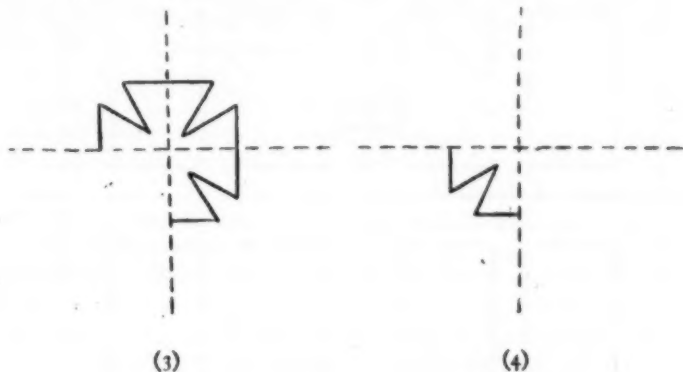
In folio the watermark is in the centre of a leaf—of both leaves if there are two watermarks. If a quire consists of (e.g.) three sheets or six leaves, there will be either three or six watermarks. In quarto the watermark is in the inner margins, which makes it difficult to see. In octavo it is in the top inner corner, and most or all of it may be removed by the binder. In duodecimo it falls variously; but in the normal eighteenth-century duodecimo with horizontal chain-lines it (or all that the binder has left of it) is in the outer margin, rather above the centre.

Assume, by way of example, a book printed in octavo, on paper with one watermark, and folded in eights. The watermark should fall either on the first, fourth, fifth and eighth leaves, or on the second, third, sixth and seventh. If it were possible to unfold the paper, we should find (1), or, in a book of which the top edges have been cut, (2).



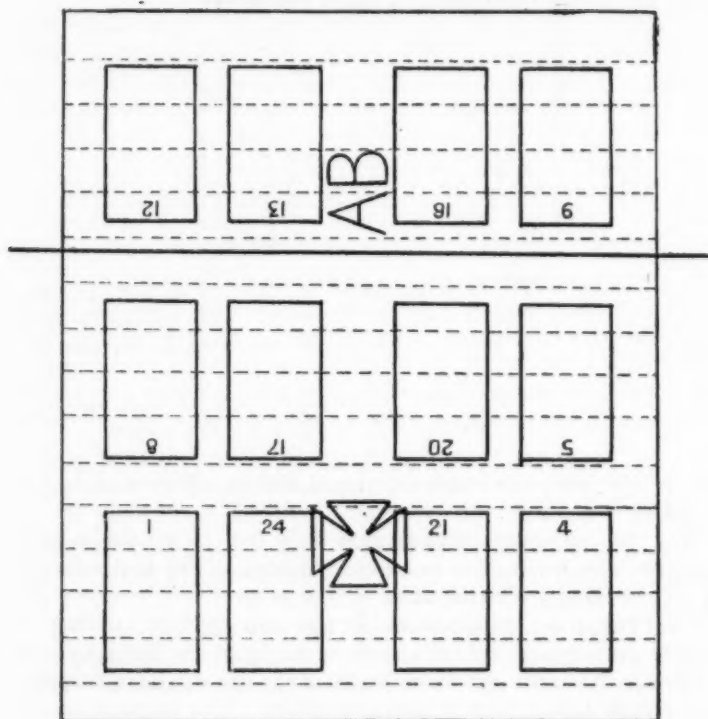
In (1) the dotted line represents the folding of the paper; and in (2), the top edge having been cut, a horizontal strip has been cut from the middle of the watermark.

If on the other hand we find either (3) or (4)



we should infer the lower left-hand leaf in either case to be a cancel.

To this imaginary illustration may be added an actual example which is rather more complicated. The first edition (1748) of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems in Three Volumes by Several Hands* is a duodecimo. It was imposed 'for cutting'; that is, so that one-third of the sheet might be cut away, before folding, to form the inner four leaves of the quire; the remaining two-thirds being folded octavo-fashion. The imposition of the outer forme is as shown in the diagram (see next page). It will be seen that the watermark, if single, would fall either on the seventh and eighth leaves, or on the eleventh and twelfth leaves, of each quire. In fact, most of the sheets were printed on a paper with two watermarks. Of these one is large, and, although the copy examined has been cut, part of it is always discernible on both of the leaves on which it



Imposition of outer forme.

fell. The other is smaller, and sometimes survives on one leaf only.

In the sheets of Volume II which were printed on this paper the incidence of the watermarks is as follows (I give only those which are actually visible in the copy examined):

*Large watermark.*

A 11 A 12  
 B 8 B 12  
 D 7 D 8  
 F 7 F 8  
 G 6 G 7 G 8  
 H 11 H 12  
 K 7 K 8  
 L 7 L 8  
 M 7 M 8  
 N 11 N 12

*Small watermark.*

A 7  
 B 11  
  
 F 11 F 12  
 G 11  
 H 7 H 8  
 K 11  
 L 12  
 M 11  
 N 8  
 O 7 O 8

I do not here use the watermarks as evidence of the cancels in this volume, which can be detected with certainty by other tests. I only point out that the watermarks behave as they should.

A 8 would probably show the small watermark if it had it, for very little of it remains on A 7. But A 8 is a cancel.

Several leaves are cancelled in sig. B. The leaf conjugate with B 6 has been removed, a stub remaining; B 7, therefore, was cancelled. But the existing B 7 is conjugate with B 5, which should of course be conjugate with B 8; B 5, therefore, must also be a cancel (the stub of the original B 5 appears after B 4, as it should). Finally B 12 is a cancel.

It is clear that the large watermark fell on B 7 and B 8, the small watermark on B 11 and B 12. But, as it happens, the cancel B 12 has the large watermark, the cancel B 7 has no watermark.

G 6 is a cancel; it has the catchword 'Vol. II'.

The apparent anomaly in sig. O is due to the fact that the large watermark fell on O 11 and O 12, which being blank are absent from the copy examined.

It should be added that there is one common case in which the survival of a leaf in the original state is not unlikely. If it so fell that the book had a sheet (probably at the beginning

or end) containing a blank leaf; and if the necessity for cancelling a leaf in another part was discovered before such sheet had been printed; then it would be an economy to print the cancel so as to fill the blank. Now a cancel so placed would easily be overlooked, and if it was overlooked then the leaf intended to be cancelled would survive. The last leaf of *Miscellany Poems by a Lady* (Lady Winchelsea) 1713 is not a blank, but a cancel of pages 63-64. I know two copies in which it remains in its original position, and the leaf which it should have replaced is also undisturbed. Special precautions were sometimes taken to ensure that effect should be given to a cancel. Sometimes the *cancellandum* was slit with a knife, so as to deface the print, before the sheets were folded. Sometimes instructions were printed in the book. The first edition (1755) of the fourth volume of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems* is in quires of eight leaves. The last quire, however, is incomplete, being of six leaves, Z-[Z 6]. At the foot of Z 6' is printed:

'Directions to the Binder. The first and last leaves of this sheet are to supply the cancels in sheets H and K.'

This is instructive in more ways than one. Why, it may be asked, did the printer use the first and eighth leaves of the sheet and not the seventh and eighth? Because the first and eighth could be cut away entire without disturbance of the rest. If the cancels had been printed as Z 7 and Z 8, the binder must either have left stubs, so making his cancels too narrow, or have pasted Z 1 and Z 2. But if the two spare leaves had remained blank, the printer might quite probably have imposed his pages in the same way; the binder would almost certainly have removed the blanks; but the watermark, if there had been one, might have shown that Z 1, though intended as the first leaf of the quire, was not the first leaf of the sheet. In such cases, therefore, signatures are not a certain guide to imposition.

# SHORT-TITLE LIST OF BOOKS BOUND FOR THOMAS MAIOLI

By G. D. HOBSON<sup>1</sup>

1. Aesop. Apologi. Basle, 1501. Monsieur E. Rahir, Paris.
2. Alunno, F. La Fabrica del Mondo. Venice, 1548. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
3. Apicius. De re culinaria. Basle, 1541. Rylands Library, Manchester.
4. Aretino, P. Ragionamento. Novara, 1538. Monsieur E. Rahir.
5. Aristotle. De Republica. Paris, 1548. Sir G. Holford, London.
6. Aristotelis et Theophrasti Historiae. Basle, 1534. Petit Palais, Paris.
7. Augurellus, J. A. Carmina. Venice, 1505. K. K. Hofbibliothek, Vienna.
8. Aulus Gellius. Noctes Atticae. Venice, 1515. Rylands Library.
9. Beda. Ecclesiasticae Historiae. Antwerp, 1550. Bibliothèque Publique, Orléans.
10. Bembo, P. Prose. Venice, 1525. Baron James de Rothschild, Paris.
11. Bessarion, *Cardinal*. In calumniatorem Platonis. Venice, 1516. Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, Paris.
12. Biblia. Libri Moysi quinque. Paris, 1541. Robert Hoe sale, 1911.

<sup>1</sup> The compiler is at work on a detailed list of these bindings, with full descriptions, and would be glad to hear of any examples not on his list. Also of the present ownership of 12, 14, 15, 27, 33, 35, 42, 44, 48, 49, 53, 70 A, 77. Address: 34 New Bond Street, London, W. 1.



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13. Blarrorivo, P. de. *De Bello Nanceiano*. St. Nicholas Du Port, 1518. Royal Library, Copenhagen.
14. Blondus, Flavius. *De Roma Triumphante*. Basle, 1531. Techener, 1861.
15. Blondus, Flavius. *Historiae*. Basle, 1531. Techener, 1861.
16. Bocchius, A. *Symbolicarum quaestionum libri quinque*. Bologna, 1555. British Museum.
17. Burgo, Dionysius de. *Commentarius*. Strasburg, c. 1470. University Library, Cambridge.
18. Caesar, C. J. MS., fifteenth century. Signora H. Finaly, Florence.
19. Caesar, C. J. *Commentarii*. Rome, 1469. British Museum.
20. Caesar, C. J. *Commentarii*. Paris, 1533. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.
21. *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*. Florence, 1549. K. K. Hofbibliothek, Vienna.
22. Castilloneus, Bon. *Gallorum Insubrum antiquae sedes*. Milan, 1541. Musée Condé, Chantilly.
23. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius. Venice, 1502. Trinity College Library, Dublin.
24. Cicero. *Opera*. 4 vols. Milan, 1498-9. Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
25. Cicero. *Officia*, &c. Basle, 1528. Bibliothèque Publique, Lyons.
26. Cicero. *Epistolae ad Atticum*. Venice, 1547. Pierpont Morgan Library.
27. Clitophonis narratio amatoria. Lyons, 1541. Morgand Bulletin, April, 1920.
28. Columna, F. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Venice, 1499. British Museum.
29. Cube, J. von. *Hortus sanitatis*. Strasburg, 1536. Bibliothèque Nationale.

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30. Curtius Rufus, Q. De rebus gestis Alexandri magni. Venice, 1520. Rylands Library.
31. Curtius Rufus, Q. De rebus gestis Alexandri magni. Basle, 1545. Bibliothèque Publique, Orléans.
32. Dionysius Halicarnaseus. Delle cose antiche della città de Roma. Venice, 1545. Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève.
33. Doni, A. F. Lettere. Venice, 1545. Christie Miller sale, 1920.
34. Florus, L. De Gestis Romanorum. Paris, 1539. British Museum.
35. Fregulphus. Chronicarum libri. Cologne, 1539. C. Fairfax Murray sale, 1917.
36. Hebreo, Leo. Dialoghi de Amore. Venice, 1541, Bibliothèque Nationale.
37. Herodotus and Thucydides. Paris, 1528. Petit Palais.
38. Homerus. Odyssea. Paris, 1538. Sir G. Holford.
39. Horatius. Poemata. Venice, 1543. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
40. Interiano, P. Ristretto delle Historie Genovesi. Lucca, 1551. Bibliothèque Nationale.
41. Jovius, Paulus. Vitae Duodecim vicecomitum. Paris, 1549. Mortimer Schiff, Esq., New York.
42. Jovius, P. Historiarum libri. Florence, 1550. Robert Hoe sale.
43. Jovius, P. Illustrium virorum vitae. Florence, 1551. Musée Condé, Chantilly.
44. Justinus. Historiae. Milan, 1520. Renard sale, 1884.
45. Juvenal. Satire. Venice [c. 1530]. Bibliothèque Nationale.
46. Laetus, Pomponius. Strasburg, 1510. Monsieur J. Gillet, Lyon.
47. Lucian. I dialogi piacevoli. Venice, 1541. Rylands Library.
48. Marco de la Frata. Discorsi di Nobilta. Venice, 1549. Thèvenin sale, 1903.

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49. Maripetro, H. *Petrarca spirituale*. Venice, 1536. Morgand Bulletin, November 1895, No. 27039.
50. Martyr, Peter. *De rebus oceanicis*. Basle, 1533. Monsieur E. Rahir.
51. Masuccio. *Cinquanta novelle*. Venice, 1541. Monsieur Adolphe Bordes, Paris.
52. Mocenigo, A. *La guerra di Cambrai*. Venice, 1544. Musée Jacquemart André, Paris.
53. Nausea, F. *Libri mirabilium septem*. Cologne, 1532. La Vigne sale, 1920.
54. Navigatiori, Delle, et Viaggi. Venice, 1550. British Museum.
55. Orus Apollo. *De sacris notis*. Paris, 1551. Trinity College, Dublin.
56. Palladius Blossius. *Coryciana*. Rome, 1524. Bibliothèque Nationale.
57. Paolo, Emilio. *Historia delle cose di Francia*. Venice, 1549. Petit Palais.
58. Paradin, G. *De antiquo statu Burgundiae*. Lyons, 1542. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.
59. Petrarca. *Opere*. Venice, 1549. Bibliothèque Publique, Troyes.
60. Polybius. *De Romanorum militia*. Basle, 1537. Bibliothèque Nationale.
61. Procopius. *De Bello Persico*. Rome, 1509. Monsieur Raoul Warocqué, Belgium.
62. Psalmi sacri di David. Venice, 1534. Petit Palais.
63. Sabellicus, M. A. Coccus. *Opera*. Basle, 1538. Landesbibliothek, Cassel.
64. Sansovino, M. E. *Lettere*. Venice, 1543. Monsieur R. Descamps-Scrive, Lille.
65. Seneca. *Epistolae*. Venice, 1549. Rylands Library.
66. Solinus. *De mirabilibus mundi*. Paris [c. 1473]. Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève.

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67. Stobaeus, J. *Sententiae*. Zurich, 1543. Pierpont Morgan Library.
  68. Susio, G. B. *Della ingiusticia del Duello*. Venice, 1558. Landesbibliothek, Dresden.
  69. Symeoni, G. *Commentarii*. Venice, 1548. Monsieur Lecour, Paris.
  70. Terentius. *L'Andria et L'Eunucho*. Venice, 1544. Monsieur Adolphe Bordes.
  71. Victorius, P. *Variarum lectionum libri*. Florence, 1553. Madame Paul Hirsch, Frankfurt-on-Main.
  72. Villani, G. *Croniche*. Venice, 1537. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.
  73. Vitruvius. Venice, 1511. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Polytechnique, Paris.
  74. Vivis, J. L. *De concordia et discordia*. Antwerp, 1529. Monsieur Adolphe Bordes.
  75. Vivis, J. L. *De veritate fidei christianae libri v.* Basle, 1544. Bibliothèque Nationale.
  76. Volaterranus. *Commentariorum libri*. Basle, 1530. Bibliothèque Publique, Orléans.
  77. Xenophon. *Opera*. Basle, 1545. Morgand Bulletin, 1876-8.
  78. Xenophon. *Le Guerre dei Greci*. Venice, 1550. Monsieur Adolphe Bordes.
  79. A binding now encasing *Processionale*, Florence, 1513, to which it was adapted at the end of the sixteenth century. Museo Civico, Turin.
- [*Addenda.*] 40 A. Jovius, P. *Commentarii delle cose di Turchia*. Venice, 1541. Madame Witney-Hoff.
- 69 A. Syrianus in *Aristotelis libros Metaphysices commentarius*. Venice, 1558. Bibliothèque Nationale.
  - 70 A. Valerius Maximus. *Factorum ac dictorum memorab. liber*. Venice, 1478. Quaritch, *Illustr. of Bookbindings*, 1889, no. 99.

## EDWARD GORDON DUFF

(1863-1924)

By FALCONER MADAN

EDWARD GORDON DUFF was the fourth son of Robert Duff, Esq., of Park Nook, Prince's Park, Liverpool, born on 16 February 1863. After a Cheltenham College education, he matriculated at Oxford from Wadham College on 16 October 1883, and took a pass degree (B.A.) in 1887. His elder brother Harry was at the time Fellow of All Souls. The following short note concerns chiefly his bibliographical side.

Perhaps his very first bibliographical work, and possibly the circumstance which turned his attention to book-lists, was his edition of James Wilding's manuscript account book, made when an undergraduate and B.A. of Duff's own college in 1682-8. It is a little book bought by Duff in Oxford, and at the end comes a list of Wilding's books in 1682, ninety-two in number. The accounts and list were printed with Duff's introduction in the *Collectanea*, vol. i, of the Oxford Historical Society, in 1885. Even at this time he was noted for his good stories, and he was a good raconteur to the end of his days. On one occasion he met the Head of his College in a remote part of the country, but as the latter did not recognize him Duff retained his incognito, returning to Oxford with a great deal of interesting and exclusive information about the College and himself.

As early as 1886 he turned his serious attention to early printing, and began a Catalogue of the Bodleian Incunabula (a work taken up in 1891-3 by R. G. C. Proctor, with whom

Duff was on terms of close friendship), while also making researches in several College libraries. But no fruits of his labours appeared in print until 1893, the year in which he was chosen Librarian of the new John Rylands Library at Manchester. In that one year he edited two facsimiles of rare early books, described Wadham College Library for Sir Thomas Graham Jackson's *History of Wadham*, contributed a chapter on English book illustrations to Mr. Pollard's treatise on early book illustrations in general, and produced a study of *Early Printed Books* in the same series ('Books about Books'). In 1895 the series of Handlists of works of English printers 1501-56, published by the Bibliographical Society, in which the one-line title system was perhaps first fully developed, was started by Duff with lists of books by De Worde, Notary, R. and W. Faques, and John Skot, and several later lists were extracted by his leave from his notebooks. This is not the place to follow out his work in detail, but it may be said that from about 1895 to 1908 there was a continuous flow from his pen of sound and original studies of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century printing and bookbinding, which will be found either as independent works or in the Transactions of the Bibliographical Societies of London, Edinburgh, and Lancashire. In 1895 he issued a catalogue of the 'English' books to 1640 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. This he followed in 1899 by a large three-volume catalogue of all the printed books in the Library, but resigned his office there in the following year. Eventually he settled in Oxford, where he spent all the latter years of his life, making full use both of his own choice collections of books and specimens of binding, and of the stores of the Bodleian Library.

Duff was only an undergraduate in February 1886, when Henry Bradshaw died, and probably the two never came into personal relation. But through F. J. H. Jenkinson, of Cam-

bridge, who was about five years senior to Duff and became his best friend to the end of his life, Duff so well imbibed Bradshaw's methods and principles that the pupil became comparable with the master. He could follow out a difficult line of bibliographical inquiry with a sureness and sagacity which would have delighted Bradshaw's heart,

*Κυνὸς Λακταίνης ὡς τις εὐρινὸς βᾶσις.*

Every year Duff made a special visit to Edinburgh, and usually returned with valuable but inexpensive spoils. In general his work was unostentatiously done, but it was first-rate and final. To the last his natural powers of mind served him well, and his handwriting was clear, firm, and distinctive, though not in the least, as Jenkinson's, based on that of Bradshaw. Three times he was elected to the annual Sandars Readership in Bibliography at Cambridge, and delivered the series of lectures attached to the office with distinction. To the Cambridge University Library he gave valuable aid in the selection and purchase of books, as the forthcoming Memoir of Jenkinson will abundantly show. He was co-founder (with Mr. Strickland Gibson) of the Oxford Bibliographical Society.

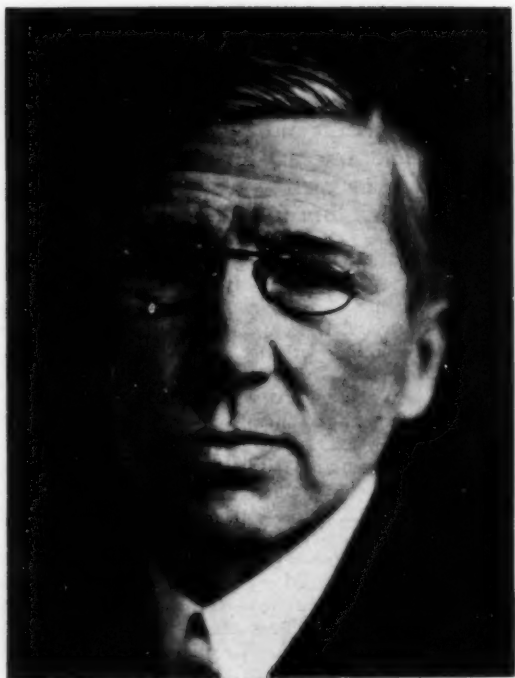
In his later years he had to give up his favourite pastime of fishing, and took little exercise. His habits were perhaps not conducive to long life, and early in the present year his health was obviously in a decline, until on September 28 the end came. The loss of him and Jenkinson within a few months has been deeply felt by all who care for bibliography, and a wide gap is made in the ranks of the veterans of that science. But Duff's work will live.

By his Will his books are to be sold, and subject to certain life interests the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge will each receive a moiety of his residual estate.



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CHARLES EDWARD SAYLE

## CHARLES SAYLE

### I

**C**HARLES EDWARD SAYLE was born on 6 December 1864, the son of Robert and Priscilla Caroline Sayle, of Cambridge. The external facts of his life down to 1910 may best be told in his own words, as he set them forth in his application for the Librarianship of the University of Edinburgh:

I was educated at Rugby and Oxford University [New College] where I graduated with classical honours in 1887. I have a working knowledge of Latin, Greek, French, German and Italian. Since taking my degree I have been connected, almost continuously, with libraries. Immediately on leaving Oxford I was appointed Librarian to Toynbee Hall (1887), a post which I gave up for private study. In October, 1888, I was selected to re-catalogue the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, containing over 40,000 volumes. After four years, having completed the more important part of it, I retired from the work, having in the meantime become a member of the College. In December, 1892, I re-arranged and re-catalogued the Library of the Cambridge Union Society, containing 15,000 volumes; and I am at this moment a member of the Special Committee appointed for the further development of that Library.

For the last fifteen years I have been engaged in the Cambridge University Library. In January, 1894, I commenced my catalogue of the Early English Printed Books in the University Library (1475-1640). This publication was undertaken by the University as the outcome of a suggestion made by me. The work was completed in 1907, and is published in four volumes. In connexion with it, I wish to express my profound indebtedness to Mr. Francis Jenkinson, University Librarian, without whose co-operation and supervision it would have been impossible to carry through the work.

In the meantime, while these volumes were passing through the press, I was entrusted with the compilation of a provisional catalogue of the Additional Western Manuscripts (806) acquired by the University since the year 1867.

I have also recently catalogued for incorporation in the general catalogue of the Library the Irish collection of books given and bequeathed to the University by Henry Bradshaw (about 10,000 books and pamphlets) and I am at present

engaged in preparing a more elaborate catalogue of the same, which is to take the shape of Memorial Volumes, in recognition of the gift.

Apart from the work already mentioned, I have been engaged in other literary pursuits, among which I would wish to mention an edition in collaboration with my friend Mr. A. W. Pollard of Wyclif's *De officio regis*, issued by the Wyclif Society in 1887, and an edition of the English works of Sir Thomas Browne, which I published in 1904-07. I was a contributor to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I am a member of the general committee of the *Cambridge Review*, and I am an occasional contributor to the *Athenæum* journal.

This miniature autobiography goes on to mention that the writer was a life-member of the Bibliographical Society and 'co-founder of the Baskerville Club of Cambridge' and that he had made it his duty to visit 'in the course of travel many continental libraries', 'among others, Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt, Munich, Rome, Florence, Milan, Venice, Basel, Paris, and Brussels'.

Sayle was on the 'short list' for the University Librarianship at Edinburgh, but he was destined to stay on at Cambridge to the end, doing very useful work and becoming almost as closely associated with the library in the minds of its visitors as the Librarian himself. He was deeply interested in its history, and in 1915 contributed to the third series of this magazine four valuable articles on the history of the library which, under the title *Annals of Cambridge University Library*, were issued in book form in 1916, in which year were also published the three-volume *Catalogue of the Bradshaw Collection of Irish Books in the University Library*, which I believe was mainly or entirely his work though his name is not attached to it, and the *Catalogue of the Early Printed Books bequeathed by Frank McClean, Esq.* to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

My own friendship with Sayle began over our collaboration in editing Wyclif's *De officio regis* for the Wyclif Society in 1887, an adventure to which he alludes in the notes already quoted. From lack of training in medieval Latin and

inadequate acquaintance with Wyclif's politics and philosophy we were both of us quite incompetent for the task, to which we had too lightheartedly been invited, and only the unstinted help of the mainstay of the Society, Mr. F. D. Matthew, saved us from disaster, and that at much expense for corrections. But having suffered together over that unhappy book we became friends for life. In 1910 Sayle gave me the honour of being one of his six sponsors in his application for Edinburgh, and the two points which I then pressed still seem to me his most notable achievements in bibliography. The first, of course, is that 'admirable piece of work, the fruit of a considerable amount of pioneer research', the four-volume *Catalogue of the Earlier English Books in the University Library, Cambridge*. To catalogue the English books of Shakespeare's day under their obscure and inadequate printers seems at first sight merely preposterous, but the Museum special catalogue of its larger collection of books of the same period had already appeared, and there can be no question that, though the Museum catalogue is the handier for reference, the Cambridge catalogue added much more to knowledge. The mere bringing the books together under printers or publishers compelled discoveries, and for a general view of English books printed abroad the catalogue is by far the best guide in existence. Sayle's reverence for Jenkinson caused him to speak of this catalogue as if everything good in it was due to his chief, and only the shortcomings were his own, and the writer of the otherwise excellent obituary notice of him in *The Times* seems to have been misled by the way he used to speak of it. In his contribution to Sayle's testimonials for Edinburgh Mr. Jenkinson, who was aware of Sayle's self-suppressing references to it, wrote emphatically: 'the printed Catalogue of English Books to 1640 in the University Library is entirely due to him', and if further proof be needed it can be found in the catalogue itself, which shows

a steady increase in bibliographical power as its author gained experience. This is not, of course, to say that Sayle did not receive generous help from his chief, but the catalogue remains his.

My other point about Sayle was that he was 'not only a sound bibliographer himself, but also a most prolific inciter 'of bibliography in others'. He liked young men, and inspired quite a number of undergraduates of successive generations with something of his own love for bibliography. I think he proposed more candidates for our Society than any other private member, and some of the candidates he proposed have been among our best. He was indefatigable in serving his friends, and when he needed help for queries of his own the postcards in which he propounded them were models of lucidity. All his bibliographical work was clear and well arranged, and singularly free from mistakes. He had, moreover, a natural gift for seeing a subject in a series of points expanding into successive sections or compartments, which enabled him, I believe, to give a new idea even to Sir William Osler, the fruit of which is yet to be seen.

Sayle was a most lovable man, and I should be ill content with this dry summary of his bibliographical work if it were to go out by itself.<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of Mr. A. C. Benson and the editor of the *Cambridge Review* it is happily only a prologue to a much more human sketch of him in his house at Cambridge. The photograph here reproduced in collotype was taken in 1911 by a friend, to whom I am much obliged for his permission to use it.

A. W. POLLARD.

<sup>1</sup> To make these notes of his literary work less incomplete it should be mentioned that Sayle wrote four thin volumes of verse: *Bertha* (anonymously), 1887; *Erotidia*, 1889; *Musa Consolatrix*, 1893; *Private Music*, 1911; also *Wiclif, an historical drama*, 1887 (anonymously). In 1918 he acted as editor to a book of memories of *Archibald Don*, who had died in hospital at Salonica during the war.

## II

Any one who went to call on Charles Sayle for the first time in his little house in Trumpington Street was apt to be assailed by the wonder as to whether there was or could be a house there at all; a front door and a narrow window above was all that was visible of it; but inside it was commodious enough, if not exactly spacious, symbolical, it might be said, of the self-effacing part he himself played in life and its publicities, yet of a very real and well-ordered comfort within. There was a pleasant dining-room below, looking into a narrow but well-contrived garden, with tall trees beyond; and the garden was never so bare but that it produced a flower for each of his guests to be laid beside their plates. Above was a room for talk rather than for study. His reading was done in the early hours of the morning; his official work at the Library.

Of his tastes and private pursuits, of which alone I shall attempt to speak, the first was undoubtedly his interest in young people. I used to think him at his very best with children. He neither spoiled nor made much of them, but talked with them gravely and quietly as with equals, never boisterously or jocosely, but always with a sustained and gentle cheerfulness—an attitude which I believe that most children infinitely prefer to any other. Then too with young men, many of whose photographs lined his upper room, I think his influence was considerable and apt to be undervalued. He laid himself out to entertain them; he encouraged them to talk about themselves, and piloted them with no parade of guidance into pleasant by-paths of literature and art and little humanities which in the crowded atmosphere of Cambridge terms are apt to be overlooked. I do not mean that he conducted a missionary enterprise of culture. He lived by preference with the young, because he loved beauty and grace



and happy irresponsibility ; but it was always the best side of his young friends that he cultivated, and he laid the foundation of many fruitful tastes.

He loved books and guarded his reading hours zealously. But here he was rather a mystery. I could never divine where his reading went, so to speak. Not into his talk, for he never criticized with any grip. But he liked the atmosphere of other minds, and seemed to me like a man who might love nature and landscape, and yet be quite incurious as to the names of the trees under which he walked, or the differences of the flowers which filled the hedges.

He delighted in music. He had a grand piano in his room on which he liked to hear others play. Occasionally I have induced him to play a little himself in an evening *tête-à-tête*. He could render a few pieces imperfectly, but what he enjoyed was a curious modulation, formless but not uninteresting, as he wandered tentatively from key to key.

Then he loved antiquity—ancient buildings, beautiful houses—not for their history or architecture, but for the enriching impression they left upon his mind.

Altogether, he was in the good sense of the word an amateur, genuinely at his ease among things of beauty, but without critical emphasis or discrimination, except perhaps in music ; his own poetry, for instance, of which he printed a slender volume or two, had a certain Tennysonian grace and facility, but was singularly passionless, never going more deeply into life than to reflect a touch of the regret which even the quietest kind of happiness brings, that the good hours should pass so swiftly and seem so brief in recollection.

He was one of the most uniformly courteous men I knew. No guest was ever so diligent in contributing to talk, in setting others at ease, in selecting topics in which they rather than he might scintillate. He would take endless trouble to do one a service, to obtain the information one required, to perform

all the troublesome little offices which all friendships entail, and which so many brisker companions entirely omit to render. He had a very tender conscience about such things, and he must have spent many hours of his time in this kind of unobtrusive kindliness, without hoping for or indeed reaping any applause.

Superficially he was regarded as a happy man; he had a profession which suited him, and a gentle tenacity about minding his own business and taking his own line; he chose his own friends and his own *milieu* resolutely; and if his rights were questioned or slighted, he could display a very courageous sort of resentment, placable as he usually was. But underneath all this there ran an undercurrent of sadness and even dreariness. He seemed in moments of intimacy like one who had fallen more than once among the thorns of life; he held himself to have failed; and yet his trained good sense and his genuine interest in others always reasserted themselves; and if he had any morbid repining, it was reserved for his solitary hours.

There are many that will miss his courteous greetings, his genial smile, his grave tones with the little touch of caressing irony, his pleasant insistence on whatever his companion might wish to be remembered, his careful avoidance of whatever one might desire to be forgotten. It was not a life that was lived on great lines; but it had a very definite beauty of quality. As in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, if he had furnished the little cabin in which he was to make his voyage with a prudent adaptation to his own orderly needs and requirements, yet his door, and indeed his heart, was always open to his fellow travellers; he was hospitable, serviceable, and generous; and he shared whatever he had lavishly and ungrudgingly, without any thought of repayment, or even any claim for gratitude.

A. C. BENSON.

## REVIEWS

### THE INCUNABULA CATALOGUE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND ITS NEW VOLUME<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the largest collections of incunabula throughout the world is that of the British Museum, and one of the best known and most consulted too. Between 9,000 and 10,000 books, pamphlets, and broadsides printed in the 15th century—probably about one-third of the whole output, and certainly a selection among which the earliest and most valuable editions prevail—are gathered under its roof. One of the most important and most cited works concerning incunabula, that of Robert Proctor, is an *Index to the early printed books in the British Museum*, and since 1908 the Trustees of the Museum have been publishing a work of great value for all incunabulists, the *Catalogue of books printed in the 15th century now in the British Museum*. The compilers are: Alfred W. Pollard, Victor Scholderer, A. J. K. Esdaile, Henry Thomas, F. G. Rendall; Mr. Pollard in the beginning, Mr. Scholderer at present acting as editor.

The first three volumes, published in 1908, 1912, and 1913 respectively, dealt with about 3,500 items (block-books included) printed in the German-speaking countries; the fourth, published in 1916, with about 667 items printed in Subiaco and Rome. The fifth volume, just published, is devoted to the incunabula printed in Venice; the sixth,

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum. Part V. Venice. Printed by Order of the Trustees and sold by Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W.; Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, London, E.C. pp. lv. 146-598. Facsimiles xiv\*-xli\*. £3 13s. 6d.*

seventh, and eighth, not yet published, will be devoted, the sixth to the remaining cities of Italy, the seventh and eighth to the rest of Europe. Each volume has an introduction speaking of the problems connected with the several printers of the respective volume, the introduction of the first also discussing the principles of the whole work and that of the third also giving remarkable general notes on German printing. Each volume has further a great number of cleverly chosen facsimiles of types (about 600 on 78 plates in volumes 1-3, more than 100 on 13 plates in the Rome volume). The third volume contains an index of authors and works, an index of printers and towns, and a concordance of Proctor numbers for volumes 1-3; moreover, an index of authors and works for volume 4 has been published separately by Bonaventura Kruitwagen and Wouter Nijhoff (The Hague, 1916).

As to the entries of the single incunabula the introduction of the first volume says (p. xvii): 'Each entry consists of four parts: (a) the heading, giving the author's name, short title of the book, and its stated or conjectured date, if any conjecture can profitably be made; (b) the description, made up of quotations from the title, incipit, colophon, or other important passages from the book itself; (c) the collation, giving bibliographical information applicable to all copies of the edition; (d) notes applicable to the particular copy described.' The entries are, as far as possible, arranged chronologically under the name of their printer, preceded by notes concerning the chronology and concerning the types, the woodcut capitals, the borders, the devices used by the printer in question. The printers of each town are arranged under the name of this town, again chronologically, according to the date when they started printing in this town. The towns of each country are arranged under the name of this country, again chronologically, according to the date when printing was introduced into the several towns. And the

catalogue begins with Germany as that country in which, at any rate, the Printed book as the ambitious rival of the Manuscript first came into being, while the other countries follow again chronologically, according to the date when printing was introduced into them.

Both the collection and the catalogue are so extraordinary that we certainly would not get an adequate judgement of the catalogue if we should compare it even with the best catalogues of even large collections. In this respect we can only congratulate the readers and the officers of the British Museum for having at their disposal such a key to such treasures. But this catalogue will be and is more than that : though being only the catalogue of a single collection and so by no means universal, it has a tendency—if I may say so—to be regarded as universal, and so we cannot help comparing it with its private predecessor, the *Index* of Proctor, which has a similar tendency, and with some works which are distinctively universal, i.e. the *Repertorium bibliographicum* of Hain and the *Typentreperitorium* of Haebler on the one side and with the coming General Catalogue of Incunabula on the other side. Being—notwithstanding the tendency referred to—the catalogue of a single collection, it is—as to the area covered by the described incunabula—no doubt inferior even to Proctor, in so far as Proctor gives notes of many hundred 15th-century books in the Bodleian Library which are not in the British Museum, and no doubt superior to all the others by giving details relating to particular copies, a thing of no little consequence with early printed books.

But what besides these inevitable differences is the position of this catalogue between Hain, Proctor, Haebler, and the General Catalogue of Incunabula? With Hain the literary point of view prevails, and so he arranges his descriptions according to authors or titles ; with Proctor the standpoint of the history of printing prevails, and so he arranges his

titles and notes—without any descriptions—according to presses, towns, and countries. Both are right ; and therefore a modern universal catalogue of early books must be a combination of both. Yet several ways of such a combination are possible, and, indeed, the successor of Hain and the successor of Proctor combine the literary and the typographical point of view, yet each of them in its own way. The General Catalogue of Incunabula—the new Hain—will in its first and larger part arrange its descriptions like Hain ; in its second part (which will sum up the results of the first in several indexes) it will acknowledge the standpoint of the history of printing too, its printers' index being something like an enlarged and refined Proctor's *Index*. The Incunabula Catalogue of the British Museum—the new Proctor—gives descriptions like Hain and the General Catalogue of Incunabula, adding valuable literary remarks and promising further literary information in the Author-Index ; yet it arranges them like Proctor.

As to the types, Proctor was the first to go over the chief part of a large field, where many and manifold flowers are growing ; with one sharp look he perceived the decisive feature of this and of that and of that, and with a minimum of words he characterized each of them and its position among the similar ones. Haebler came next, but he went over the whole field, making a complete system for all flowers out of Proctor's intuition gained from a fairly representative part of them. Now the compilers of the British Museum Incunabula Catalogue come again over this part and describe each flower of this their proper part with the loving thoroughness of a knowing gardener who—first of all—lives with his flowers. Compared with the compilers of the General Catalogue of Incunabula, who are just in the opposite position, they have in this respect again the advantages and disadvantages of a more special work which is not always able to make use of such

an extensive information and experience as the more universal work, but can often treat its subject more intensively. You must not say : this is right or that is wrong. Regarding several works with a similar object it is great good luck for the learned world, and secures each of them its own value, if they try to reach the more or less common goal by more or less different ways.

During the 15th century the production of printed books in Venice was notably greater than that in any other town, and so the new volume of the British Museum Incunabula Catalogue has become the largest which has yet been issued : 55 pages preliminary matter, containing especially the introduction, 452 pages text, 28 plates with 291 facsimiles and 26 pages text again, are dealing with about 1,720 incunabula printed in Venice. The number of books in the possession of the British Museum and recorded in this volume is even greater, as there are very often two or more copies of the same work in the collection.

The information we get in this way turns out to be enormous. It is extremely useful to have exact and reliable descriptions of so many types and books of this immense printing centre in one volume together. Only people who have to face a similar task will sufficiently appreciate both the command of the whole matter and the attention, nay the devotion, to even small parts of a letter which are necessary to compile, and to pass through the press such a work.<sup>1</sup> Though it is not the place here to discuss this or that peculiarity of describing the printing material or the printed books, I want to say that I am glad to see the Greek types—even if found only in a few passages—recorded as well as the gothic and

<sup>1</sup> In every work of this kind allowance for misprints must be made ; so only in passing I correct a confusion which occurs just in the description of the first printer's types : not 99 G, but 200 G has Haebler's M 20, and not 200 G, but 99 G has Haebler's M 83.



roman ones, and that the volume contains many books never before described in full. But I want to lay a special stress on the presence of what has become something like a commentary which accompanies the lists of types and the lists of books as a modest and reserved, yet by no means ineffective, interpreter, beginning on the first page of the introduction and ending only on the last plate of the facsimiles. I mean remarks added to single descriptions like that added to the edition of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincentius Bellovacensis published by Hermannus Liechtenstein on 5 September 1494, which states that the additional matter bringing the narrative up to 1492 is derived from the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. I mean the chronological order which—based on carefully studying the evolution of the single types in the different books—gives an approximate date to undated books and shows the history of each printing firm in the course of its productions. I mean all the notes concerning individual printers and publishers, the part they played, the connexion they had with one another, the connexion in publishing a book together, the connexion between several editions of a book published by different printers, the connexion between the printing material of one printer with that of another. Every student of 15th-century books will be very grateful for these results of researches, which are at once researches into published documents, literary researches, and researches devoted to the printing material and its use.

The vast store of momentous information accumulated in this as well as in the other volumes of the Catalogue, just because it is interesting in many respects, can be adequately made use of only by help of indexes. So I am now in the same position as Bonaventura Kruitwagen was when the Rome volume appeared: before all I missed an Author-Index in the new volume, and began to make a preliminary one of my own as soon as the book was in my hands. Yet I must admit

that this deficiency is but a temporary one, and that—once published—an index which comprises several volumes will be preferable. I therefore venture only to express a desire that at the end of the great enterprise there may be as many indexes as possible, and that in particular indexes for all the notes concerning the single copies (its former owners, &c.) may not be forgotten.

This Venice volume, splendidly closing the successful official career of Mr. Pollard and splendidly opening the editorship of Mr. Scholderer, is an especially noteworthy milestone on the way of the British Museum Incunabula Catalogue. Let us hope that the compilers will happily complete their magnificent work as soon as its difficulty allows.

ERNST CROUS.

*Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court.* A Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings for Scenery and Costumes mainly in the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., with Introduction and Notes by Percy Simpson and C. F. Bell. Oxford: Printed for the Walpole and Malone Societies at the University Press, 1924. Royal 4°, viii + 158 pp., with 52 plates.

THE early history of the theatrical drawings by Inigo Jones and his pupil John Webb preserved at Chatsworth is not fully recorded, but we are to suppose that they represent rather a collection from different sources than a homogeneous set directly traceable to the work-rooms of the artists. While, however, some of the volumes in which a large part of the collection is bound were not put together till the nineteenth century, it seems unlikely that many, if any, additions were made after the middle of the eighteenth. The importance of this group of drawings for the history of art and design has always been recognized, but their specifically dramatic interest was a later discovery. In 1848 (or rather late in 1849) the Shakespeare Society issued a life of Inigo Jones by Peter

Cunningham, as an appendix to which were reproduced a handful of costume sketches from the Chatsworth drawings with notes of a somewhat suspicious character by J. R. Planché. Little more was done till about half a century later Arthur Strong became librarian to the Duke of Devonshire and began a critical study of the collection. Since then occasional articles and studies have appeared, including Mr. Percy Simpson's valuable essay on the Masque contributed in 1916 to *Shakespeare's England*, in which he reproduced eight costume designs for Jonson's *Masque of Queens*. Recently Miss L. B. Campbell's *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage*, while recognizing the important position occupied by Inigo Jones in the development of scenery, did not attempt to go behind the printed sources; and Miss E. Welsford's article in the *Modern Language Review* tracing the 'Italian Influence on the English Court Masque', though embodying the results of personal research and successfully establishing the connexion of some of Jones's and Webb's designs with their sources, is not in all respects satisfactory.

Thus by fortune it has been reserved for Mr. Bell, Keeper of Fine Art in the Ashmolean Museum, and Mr. Simpson, the editor of Ben Jonson, to combine their skill and labour in the first critical and comprehensive account of the collection that has yet been undertaken. And so successful have they been in describing nearly half a thousand drawings and assigning them to their places in relation to the series of masques and plays that stretches from 1605 to 1640 that, while doubtless minor corrections and additions will now and again be made (it would seem that they have already begun), it will probably be a very long time indeed before the present volume is in any way superseded.

The arrangement of the book is excellent. In the bipart Introduction Mr. Simpson discusses the nature and setting of the masque and the contribution which the present designs

make towards a knowledge of its staging, while Mr. Bell traces their history, the development of Jones's style, and the sources on which he drew. Then follows, as in substance the joint work of the two scholars, though I believe its form has been given it by Mr. Bell, the catalogue of 467 separate drawings of which it has been possible to identify, conjecturally at least, no less than 364. These are arranged in the chronological order of the performances for which they were prepared, the unidentified designs being placed at the end. Each drawing is minutely described, its subject, where possible, illustrated from the literary records, and in some cases the inspiration shown by the reproduction in the text of an Italian engraving. Due notice is also taken of the often tantalizing inscriptions that appear on many of the drawings, usually in a vile hand and sometimes in equally bad Italian. At the end are 51 collotype plates reproducing in all 83 drawings, while as frontispiece one of the most charming is given in colour. The only lack that strikes one is that of a subject index: it is, for instance, no easy matter to identify the drawings reproduced in Cunningham's volume. But it would have been a considerable labour, and its utility limited. I think the Walpole and Malone Societies are to be heartily congratulated on the fruits of their experiment in co-operation.

W. W. G.

*George Cruikshank: a catalogue raisonné of the work executed during the years 1806-1877, with collations, notes, approximate values, facsimiles and illustrations by Albert M. Cohn. London, from the office of The Bookman's Journal, 1924. (Edition limited to 500 copies, £3 3s.)*

MR. ALBERT M. COHN is a Cruikshank enthusiast, and in tribute to his hero has prepared this sumptuous volume. He has searched the highways and by-ways of Victorian publishing for Cruikshankiana, and his publishers have been at pains to

set down the results in excellent print with a number of equally excellent facsimiles of book-covers, title-pages, etchings, and woodcuts. Mr. Cohn very rightly tells us in his preface that the Cruikshank collector is a favoured being, for he fills his storehouse with designs by a hand unusually gifted in its ability to jot down the frolics, the folly and pathos of everyday humanity, and, because it was so gifted, it is the hand chosen to illustrate much literature of its time that has now become classic. Most of us have been helped to visualize the world of Dickens and Thackeray by the aid of George Cruikshank's pencil. He is one of the rare illustrators whose interpretations of the text do not jar the earnest reader's imagination, and thanks to him and his contemporaries the early Victorian age is mirrored for us more clearly than most ages. Everybody has a weakness for picture books, and from the 'thirties to the 'seventies of last century, before picture reproduction became too rapid and too easy, the hands of George Cruikshank, John Leech, H. K. Browne (commonly called 'Phiz'), and the hands of the hundred and one 'illustrators of the 'sixties' were all kept busy making excellent pictures for the million. George Cruikshank is entitled to a special place in this company, in that he lived eighty-six years and his seventy years of work cover the whole of the great picture-book period. Small wonder then that he is collected, and that the enthusiasm of his admirers runs to catalogues. For, be it noted, this is the fifth considerable catalogue of the works of George Cruikshank (the second by Mr. Cohn) which has seen the light of print, but even so it cannot be crowned with the laurels of a last-word book.

Mr. Cohn gives us, first, under names of authors, a list of all the books, magazines, and the like, illustrated by Cruikshank, which expands and adds to his earlier *Catalogue of Books illustrated by George Cruikshank* published in 1914; then a list of separate, i.e. single, prints arranged in one alphabet by

the first word in their titles. There follows a one-line bibliography of works and magazine articles dealing with the artist's work, and finally indexes by titles to the books illustrated and to the lottery puffs and twelfth-night characters. Each item in the catalogue is described, and its approximate market value noted. The book is thus a valuable up-to-date *résumé* of Cruikshankiana which collectors and dealers will find useful in identifying and pricing their stock, and it is very definitely to this body of interested persons that the author addresses himself. The older catalogues are hard to come by, and here is a new one to meet present needs.

It is a pity that this book does not contain a summary, however short, of the earlier catalogues of Cruikshank, describing their scope and shortcomings, with some indication of the undoubted debt which it owes them. Students will in our opinion still need to turn to the earlier catalogues: to G. W. Reid's<sup>1</sup> for the chronological arrangement; to R. Y. H. Douglas<sup>2</sup> for his more detailed division of the single prints by subjects; and to the Widener<sup>3</sup> collection catalogue for scientific bibliography. Finally it is to be regretted that not one of the catalogues hitherto published has given the dimensions of the single prints, while students of history and biography still have to wait for a really comprehensive index of events and personalities caricatured and recorded by Cruikshank's inimitable pencil.

H. M. H.

<sup>1</sup> *A descriptive catalogue of the works of George Cruikshank* . . . London, 1871. (Edition limited to 135 copies.)

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of George Cruikshank classified and arranged with references to Reid's catalogue*. London, 1903. (Edition limited to 1,000 copies.)

<sup>3</sup> *A catalogue of the works illustrated by George Cruikshank and Isaac and Robert Cruikshank in the library of Harry Elkins Widener*, by A. S. W. Rosenbach. Philadelphia, 1918. (Privately printed.)

*Festskrift tilegnet Førstebibliotekar A. Kjær av venner*, 26 September 1924. pp. 126. (Cammermeyers Boghandel, Christiania, 1924.)

HERR KJÆR, to whom this pleasantly printed collection of essays was presented by his friends on his seventy-second birthday, retired two years ago from the post of Chief Librarian of the University of Christiania. In the course of an official career spreading over more than forty years he worthily played the part of 'guide, philosopher, and friend' to generations of students, who rejoiced as much in his genial helpfulness as in his wide learning. His own studies have lain mainly in the province of Germanic philology, a taste which is reflected in several of the twenty-one essays that make up the 'Festskrift'. The subjects of some of them—'Local names ending in -heim', 'Norwegian Island-Names', 'The Pronoun "hvem" in Old Norwegian'—will, perhaps, be dearer to the heart of Herr Kjær than to that of the general reader; but the latter will find interest in such essays as O. M. Sandvik's 'The relation of words to notes in Norwegian Folk Music', R. Iversen's collection of 'Old Norwegian proverbs and sayings', and an interesting paper by E. Bull on some seventeenth-century manuscript plans of Norwegian towns. In the last-named paper reproductions are given of plans of Christiania, Trondhjem, Frederikstad, and Bergen.

R. F. S.

*Die deutschen Buchdrucker des xv. Jahrhunderts im Auslande.* VON KONRAD HAEBLER. Jacques Rosenthal, Munich, 1924. pp. 315, pl. xxvi. 14 x 10½ in. 80 marks to subscribers.

THE disasters which overtook Germany with the close of the War have recently given rise, by a natural reaction, to a flood of literature dealing with the national contribution towards the advancement of Western art and science in all their branches. Particularist claims of this description are very



apt to be exaggerated, but in the case of the printing art it is no more than the truth to say that its dissemination over Europe, as much as its first invention and perfection, was due in the first instance to men who were either themselves of German stock or culturally of the German connexion. Dr. Haebler is thus fully justified of his subject and he is to be congratulated on this handsomely produced volume, which embodies the results of a very great amount of close research and reading and is easily and straightforwardly written. In one connexion or another it deals authoritatively with every aspect of early typography, and in fact constitutes the amplest and most systematic account of the period yet produced, more especially of the pioneer decade from 1465 onwards when craftsmen trained in the original offices of Mainz and Strasburg penetrated in ever-increasing numbers into the Latin countries, and when great part of the output has the attraction of being still strongly individualized. Twenty-six plates illustrate characteristic founts used by German printers in Italy, France, and Spain.

The medieval terms 'Alemania' and 'Germania' were, of course, much more comprehensive than the modern 'Germany', more comprehensive even than 'Mitteleuropa', since they included not only all the dominions, stretching from Flanders and Savoy to Styria and West Prussia, which formed part of the Holy Roman Empire 'deutscher Nation', but even territories beyond it in the East, as is shown by documents speaking of Stanislaus the Pole and Peter the Hungarian, at Seville and Lyons respectively, as Germans. Dr. Haebler has rightly drawn his net as wide as possible, seeing that every additional name makes his record more nearly complete. It is not always easy to disentangle the nationality of the numerous printers who Latinized their names or adapted them to the vernacular, and a good deal of evidence has had to be collated before Johannes Solidi can be pronounced identical with

Hans Schilling or Peter Schenck with Pierre Bouteiller, while the Lope de la Roca vouched for as a German by a contract drawn up at Valencia still leaves us guessing as to his native style. Some doubts arise as to the inclusion in the list of the Lyonnese printer Michel Topié, since his home was apparently not Pymont, as Dr. Haebler, following Proctor and others, assumes, but 'Pymont', wherever that may be; mention of it seems to occur only in the colophon of the French Breydenbach printed 28 November 1488, by 'Michelet Topie de pymont: 1 laques heremberch dalemaigne' (Proctor 8591, facsimile in Claudin), where the specification of 'alemaigne' as the home of Heremberch makes it the less likely that 'Pymont' should also be German. Wynkyn de Worde, again, was certainly a native of the Duchy of Lorraine<sup>1</sup> and therefore cannot have derived from Woerden near Utrecht. In his case, however, the substitution of Wörth in Alsace for Woerden still leaves him within Dr. Haebler's pale. Dr. Haebler notes, by the way, that Haarlem was just as much a part of the German Empire as Mainz itself, a consideration in view of which the feud between the Costerians and the Gutenbergians dwindles to something like a parochial quarrel.

Rather more than half of Dr. Haebler's book is devoted to printers in Italy, and the centres about which he has most to say are Rome, Venice, Milan, and Naples. The chapters dealing with Rome and Naples are a practically complete synopsis of the typographical history of these cities, where German craftsmen contrived to maintain themselves almost to the exclusion of the natives right down to the end of the period. Setting aside Nicolaus Jenson himself, the very similar preponderance of foreigners at Venice up to the end of 1481, during which time the syndicates founded by John of Speyer and Jenson respectively and amalgamated in 1480 were all-

<sup>1</sup> E. Gordon Duff, *The Printers . . . of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (1906), p. 24.

powerful in the book-trade, is also due mainly to the German element. It is gratifying, by the way, to find that Dr. Haebler's account of these matters agrees, apart from a few details, with that given by the present reviewer in his paper published in *The Library* for last September. To what extent the Italians after 1480 turned the tables on their rivals at Venice is shown by some remarkable figures, giving the proportion of German-printed (foreign-printed) to Italian-printed editions issued there as follows :

Years :	1469-74	Proportion :	8 : 3
„	1475-80	„	6 : 9
„	1481-90	„	7 : 63
„	1491-1500	„	6 : 100

In the other chief typographical centres of Italy German influence, though not absolutely predominant, was always very strong. The solitary exception appears to be Ferrara, where Belfortis and his French connexion suffered no foreign rivals to gain a foothold.

Passing from Italy to France, Dr. Haebler devotes two very interesting chapters to Paris and Lyons respectively. At Paris the printing house founded by Ulrich Gering, who was subsequently partnered by Berthold Rembolt, seems at one time to have occupied a position rather resembling that of the De Colonia-Jenson combination at Venice. Towards the end of the century a syndicate of the chief publishers took control of the trade, and Gering and Rembolt remained almost the only firm of printers able to meet the publishers on more or less equal terms. There is, however, interesting evidence that almost from the very beginning the German masters began to take French journeymen into their employ and that native competition became effective much sooner than at Venice. Thanks to the researches of Claudin, Rondot, and others, the history of the Lyonnese presses is only less copiously documented than that of the Venetian, and Dr. Haebler has had

a great deal of material to work upon. Nevertheless, the resulting outline is not by any means as definite as in the case of Venice. It can be seen, however, that Barthélemy Buyer, bachelor of law and bookseller and a native Lyonnese, was the principal figure in the trade until his death in 1482. He employed first of all Guillaume Le Roy (Willem de Koning?), a 'German' from Liège, with his curiously archaic material, and afterwards quite a series of other German printers. After his death his brother Jacques continued to some extent on the same lines, and one François Dalmès, who appears as an associate of Neumeister and Topié, was probably also a member of the Buyer connexion. Dr. Haebler gives reasons for believing that at both Paris and Lyons the number of printing offices was not so great as the colophons suggest, several firms describing themselves as printers being in fact only publishers.

After the French sections there follows a chapter devoted to Spain, which is comparatively brief and cannot well be dealt with apart from the author's more elaborate *Geschichte des spanischen Frühdrucks in Stammbäumen*, published last year. Two short sections dealing with England and with the North and East round off the account, and the volume concludes with some interesting remarks concerning the reactions on German typography of the 'literae Venetae' and other Italian models which were carried home by native printers such as Koelhoff, Ratdolt, and Amerbach on their return from the South. Well before the close of the century, as Dr. Haebler points out, Italian styles of letter had become paramount, and whereas both the Netherlands and France succeeded in striking out along lines of their own the type-cutters who had adapted their work so skilfully to the requirements of local taste abroad failed when confronted with the task of developing a national style in Germany itself.

V. S.

*A Catalogue of Scientific Periodicals in Canadian Libraries.* Prepared by GERHARD R. LOMER and MARGARET S. MACKAY. Published by McGill University in co-operation with the Honorary Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Montreal, 1924. pp. xx, 255.

LISTS and catalogues of scientific periodicals are multiplying. A German *Gesamtkatalog* was issued in 1914, the first volume of a Paris one appeared early this year, a 'World-List' is in progress, and a general catalogue of periodicals in the United States has been begun. This Canadian catalogue has many merits. It is admirably printed, is particularly good in its careful notes giving the history of changes in title and in frequency of issue, and shows exactly how complete a set each of the co-operating libraries owns. In a brief but interesting preface Mr. Lomer laments that 'a number of libraries found themselves unable to include their possessions in this list'. He finds in the inability of these institutions to supply information 'striking evidence', both that Canadian libraries do not pay enough attention to their periodicals, and also 'that most libraries are understaffed and lack properly trained assistants capable of doing accurate and complete bibliographical work'. It is not only in Canada that libraries are understaffed, and here as well as in Canada it is true that 'until these deficiencies are remedied the full value of libraries for research cannot be realized'.

*The Fleuron: a journal of typography.* Edited by OLIVER SIMON. No. 3. London at the office of *The Fleuron*, No. 101, Great Russell St. 1924.

THE outstanding feature in this issue of *The Fleuron* is a long and well-illustrated article by A. F. Johnson and Stanley Morison on 'The Chancery Types of Italy and France', i.e. the founts modelled on the handwriting 'adopted during the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1451) for the exclusive use of that department of the Vatican chancery which was con-

'cerned with the engrossing of papal briefs'. Mr. Updike contributes an excellent review of Mr. Morison's *Four Centuries of Fine Printing*, Mr. D. Wiggins writes on 'D. B. Updike and the Merrymount Press', and Mr. Frank Sidgwick on Mr. Stanley Morison in the first of a series of articles on 'Contemporary Printers'. All these articles are quite good, though whether the inclusion of contributions about contributors is politic is a point which might perhaps be considered. As usual, the printing of the advertisements is an interesting feature of the number.

*Livres à gravures imprimés à Lyon au x<sup>e</sup> siècle. I. La Légende dorée.* Mathieu Husz et Pierre Hongre, 1483. Association Guillaume Le Roy, Lyon. 25 francs, exemplaire de luxe, 60 francs.

THE Association Guillaume Le Roy has made a good start by reproducing in the original size 136 woodcuts and a page of text of the *Légende dorée* of 1483. The cutting of the column cuts is very rude, and leaves one uncertain as to the merit of the designs. The second fasciculus, which is to be devoted to the Master I D, should be of much higher quality. Still even the handiwork of the untrained woodcutters of the *Légende dorée* has its own grotesque charm. Would-be subscribers to the Association should communicate with it at 3 rue Davout, Lyon. The subscription prices for the present fasciculi were 18 and 40 francs.

*The Site of the Globe Playhouse, Southwark.* [By W. BRAINES.] Second edition, revised and enlarged. Hodder & Stoughton, publishers to the University of London Press, 1924. pp. 112. 6s. net.

MR. BRAINES' first edition was good; his second is better. Undaunted by the precise evidence of an early transcript of part of the original lease that the Globe stood on the north of Maid Lane he has proved twice over that it was to the south, first, because the possible sites on the north were

otherwise occupied, secondly, because the houses known to have adjoined it can be proved to have been on the south, and there is a plot with exactly the 156 feet of frontage known to have belonged to the Globe left for it to fill. The mistake in the description of the property in the original lease seems to have arisen from the writer of it having held a plan of the property the wrong way up—a charmingly simple explanation.

A. W. P.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Geschichte des spanischen Frühdrucks in Stammbäumen.* Von Konrad Haebler. Mit 489 Abbildungen. K. W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1923. F<sup>o</sup>.

*Werden und Wirken.* Ein Festgruss Karl W. Hiersemann zugesandt . . . zum siebzigsten Geburtstag. . . Herausgegeben von Martin Breslauer und Kurt Koehler. [With plates.] K. F. Koehler, Leipzig, 1924. 4<sup>o</sup>.

*Svend Dahls Bibliotekshandbok.* Översatt . . . med bidrag av svenska fackmän. Utgiven av Samuel E. Bring. Första bandet, bokhistoria, bokframställning. Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala & Stockholm, 1924. 8<sup>o</sup>.

It is hoped to review these in the *March Library*.